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The New Woman

In publishing this symposium on The New Woman, the Editors of CURRENT HISTORY feel it necessary to state that their point of view throughout is one of the strictest impartiality toward the respective viewpoints expressed by the contributors to the symposium. There is, perhaps, no aspect of present day social history more controversial in character or more delicate in its implications than that of the new status of Woman. The Editors, consequently, wish to make it clear that they take no sides in the controversy, and that they accept no responsibility for any of the views expressed, on one side or the other.

Woman Suffrage Only an Episode in Age-Old Movement

By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

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THERE was no "rise" of the woman suffrage movement in the usual sense of that expression. Instead, it "emerged" from the broader woman movement, but it did so through the deliberate design of certain bold spirits, already leaders in the women's agitation, who called a convention and organized in America in 1848. From that date there was no significant change in the aim and no pause in campaign activities except during the Civil War. The campaign, grown stronger each year, at length became so insistent in its appeals that the general public took notice of it and imagined it had sprung "full armed,"

officered and organized upon the public stage.

Memories usually are short. A well-known man who had been an active, loyal helper in the woman suffrage campaign during its last five years was advocating recently his favorite cause before a small group of men and women, and said with impressive earnestness: "Now, if we who believe in this idea would combine in an energetic campaign we would win as easily and quickly as did the woman suffragists." The speaker was noticeably disconcerted at the somewhat derisive smiles of the women present. Nor was he any more convinced

of the truth than is the average citizen when informed that the campaign was organized, officered, dues paying and supporting a clearly definite program for exactly seventy-two years before the final victory came.

The idea prevailed also that before the "rise" of the suffrage movement women had been content with their status in the world. On the contrary, there has been no time in written history when there were not women making protest.

When written history dawned the status assigned to women among peoples most rapidly advancing was one of enormous, but scantily recognized, economic importance to home and nation, but with civil and social rights so restricted that no peg was left upon which to hang a shred of self-respect. Century followed century. Civil law, Church dogma, traditional custom, combined to enforce rigidly the belief that males possessed the inalienable right to govern home, Church and State, and that females owed to men the duty to obey, to submit, to be silent and to ask humbly when and if they desired aught.

It was inevitable that the woman sex would one day rebel and struggle to regain a rational individuality. The first definite movement in that direction arose in Greece and lasted for more than two centuries. The revolt sprang up again in Rome, and although it still made the quest of learning its chief aim it took on a bolder and more political character. Twice before the coming of Christ, women, in protest against injustices to their sex, gathered in great numbers within the Forum and blocked all its approaches, much to the consternation of the Consuls. In both cases they won their causes and in the later incident called forth an immortal oration from Cato the Elder.

Christianity came into the world and overspread Western Europe. It accepted the ancient opinion about women and contributed the interesting additional view that their subjection was by order of God's will and since women had brought sin into the world they should be willing to spend their time in penitence and obedience to the more virtuous sex.

Despite this new and thunderously voiced opposition, the woman movement arose again as a part of the Italian Renaissance in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. That the land of Mussolini gave birth to the modern woman movement may sound odd, but facts support the claim. The movement never disappeared after this

date. The Renaissance departed, but the woman movement kept steadily on. During the following dark periods of war and religious intolerance it was often forced to "dig itself in," but it never failed to peep out and fire a telling shot at its enemies whenever the political weather allowed.

EDUCATION OF RENAISSANCE GIRLS

The Renaissance and the woman movement flourished in Italy long before they spread to France, Spain, Portugal and to the North. Developments were similar in all these countries. As learning was the main plea of the woman movement and was also the chief spirit of the Renaissance, the doors of education seem to have swung open without much ado. There were women students in classrooms and women professors in the faculties of universities in Italy, France and Spain. In all these countries there were women scholars and notable authors and poets. Many queens were distinguished for their intellectuality and many women were pronounced prodigies of learning. There were women doctors in all these countries. Modern science is scornful of European medicine at this date, but at least it may be said that women are reputed to have lost no more patients than did men. Women lawyers also appeared and from Italy came the real or fancied Portia.

Throughout the Latin countries an increased number of convents with attached schools for girls and a widespread belief that if girls could not learn everything they might learn something were the most permanent results of the woman movement during the Renaissance. Mothers Superior were often renowned for scholarship, literary talent and rare administrative ability, as well as piety, and more than one declared a gentle rebellion against unacceptable edicts of the Church. The greatest of all these Mothers Superior was probably St. Theresa.

Church power for many centuries was actively hostile to the woman movement. As early as 1377 the Faculty of the University of Bologna, where women had taught and studied, led the way with the following decree: "And whereas woman is the foundation of sin, the weapon of the devil, the cause of man's banishment from Paradise, and whereas for these reasons all association with her is to be diligently avoided, Therefore do we interdict and expressly forbid that any one presume to introduce in the said college any woman whatsoever, however honorable she

may be, and if any one should perpetrate such an act he shall be severely punished." Eventually all the universities closed their doors to women. Martin Luther (1483-1546) and the Reformation differed from the Catholic leaders in most things, but they held common views about a personal devil and both agreed that women were on much more intimate terms with him than were men. Thus the theory that men were divinely appointed to rule and women to obey had been accentuated by both Catholic and Protestant Churches. These Churches largely controlled European governments and governments made and enforced law; therefore, the woman movement was driven to struggle against a seemingly impregnable barrier.

The Renaissance was ablaze in all Western Europe when Columbus discovered the American continent with the aid of the jewels of a Renaissance Queen, Isabella of Castile. It had passed and the Woman's Rights movement in Great Britain had become a permanent conflict and was actively in evidence when the American Revolution took place.

Colonists, coming to America, brought the controversy with them and probably debated the theological aspects of the woman movement on the Mayflower. Every ship brought women rebels and also "divinely appointed" watchers to see that the limits of women's sphere were not moved outward by a hair's breadth. They had scarcely erected their log cabins and planted their gardens before the colonists were lined up on opposing sides for the first battle—"schools for shes." The taxpayers were nearly a unit against it. The girls won, but the last surrender was two hundred years later. Meanwhile, an overlapping battle of words began which lasted for a hundred years, the theme being, "Shall girls study geography?" The Colonists having survived the Revolution, another and more terrible battle followed sharp upon the surrender of the opposition in the geography war, "Shall girls be permitted to study that indelicate, indecent, immoral thing called Physiology?" The conflict so violently shook the foundations of the Republic that the Fathers fairly suffered with *mal de mer*. In the midst of it Boston yielded to the demand for the higher education of girls and in 1826 opened, amid a veritable storm of disapproval, the first high school in the United States, probably in the world.

Boston had led the movement for educational opportunity and from 1789 to 1842



MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

girls were allowed to attend the public schools during Summer months when boys vacated seats to work on the farms. The timid school board, however, yielded after eighteen months to the opposition and closed the high school for girls (1828), not because it had been a failure, but rather because every seat had been taken and not a girl had been frightened away. No other high school was opened until 1852. The opposition firmly contended that girls were incapable of learning, but were afraid to put their theory to the test. In 1853 Oberlin College was opened to admit boys and girls, black and white, on equal terms. It was the first college in the world to admit women after the universities of the Renaissance were closed to women by the Church.

WOMEN AS REFORMERS

An unexpected stimulus to the woman movement appeared in the early years of the last century. Agitation on behalf of the abolition of slavery, alcohol and war, each a separate movement, was stirring the people. Women interested in these causes insisted upon their right to attend public meetings, to join organizations, to sit in conventions and to speak when they had

anything on their minds. Their insistence called forth an opposition which had few arguments, but much temper and voluminous quotations from the Bible. A genuine reaction of fright at the manner in which "masculine strong-minded women" were "attempting to drive men from their God-ordained sphere" possessed the country. Editors advised, preachers sermonized, and on street corners and around tea tables men and women gossiped. After half a century the results of these excited years may be gathered in the brief comment that whatever the controversy may have done to other movements, it compounded interest in the woman question several times over and enormously increased the number of women rebels.

Meanwhile, women had been seeking reforms of the civil code which robbed them of property, wages, guardianship of children and other protective rights. They observed that some grievances were restrictions built by custom only, while others were in the law and could be corrected only by legislation. They concluded that the vote was a necessary tool with which to clear the code of discriminatory laws and to prevent the enactment of new ones.

This was a calmly thought out plan when Lucretia Mott, standing fast by the principle of "truth for authority, not authority for truth," and Elizabeth Cady Stanton who, with her little scissors, had tried to find the laws about women and cut them out of her father's law books in her girlhood, called a convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. They drew up a program in the parlor of Mrs. Sarah McClintock on a table which is now in the Smithsonian Institution. That program demanded the vote, civil equality and equal rights to opportunity in all things. Under the organization that grew out of the convention they placed responsibility for those reforms that could be secured only through legislation. Thus the woman suffrage movement was organized with carefully planned intent. Mrs. John Stuart Mill wrote an account of one of the early conventions and women in England speedily organized for the same purpose. During seventy-two years in this country and sixty-eight in England the campaigns moved on ever faster and faster. Women were born into it, served and passed. It was irresistible from the first and grew more so day by day. Yet the history of those years of ceaseless campaigning will always be chiefly of interest as a record of the superstition, ignorance, tyranny, church hostility, bigotry, warfare of certain vested

interests, which combined to form the astounding resistance of the opposition.

The spirit of democracy, which seems always to prevail for a brief period after a war, sponsored the movement for a time and enfranchised men and women in many European countries in 1918, 1919 and 1920. So far did this wave of liberal tendency extend that the United States, in which the organized woman suffrage movement began, did not complete its ratification of the Federal woman suffrage amendment (Aug. 26, 1920) until twenty-six other nations had given the vote to their women.* When the ship that brought the first returning fighting men from France let down its gangplank in New York, a soldier ran down ahead of the others and shouted: "Have you got it?" "Got what?" queried the women serving coffee and doughnuts. "Why, the vote, of course," the soldier boy ejaculated. "The women of Germany have it; you should be ashamed if they have beaten you to it." In truth, when the last hard fought battle was being waged for woman suffrage in the United States (August, 1920), Germany was already preparing for an election that seated thirty-six women as members of the Reichstag and forty-five as members of the Prussian Parliament. Five years before, these Parliaments had been considered by general opinion the most militaristic and autocratic in the entire world. Germany inadvertently shamed the last opposition outpost in the United States into surrender.

The vote won, some women ask, "Has it been worth the trouble it cost?" Some men ask, "What good has it done?" "What change has it wrought?" "Is the new way better than the old?"

The first and chief effect of the triumph

*At this date (September, 1927) women have full suffrage on equal terms with men in twenty-three nations considered sufficiently independent to be qualified to enter the League of Nations: Australia, Austria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Ukraine, United States of America. Seven other nations of this description have extended unequal suffrage to women: India has full suffrage for women in all but one province of British India and in several native States; Belgium and South Africa have full municipal suffrage; Rumania and Mexico have a limited municipal suffrage; Spain and Italy have a very limited vote. Ten British dependencies, Kenya, Rhodesia, Burma, Isle of Man, Jamaica, Tasmania, Newfoundland, Trinidad and Tonga Islands, Channel Islands and Windward Islands, have given equal suffrage to women with the exception of the last three, which have fixed the same age qualifications as those of Great Britain. Women therefore vote in forty-one different countries.



Cosmo Pictures

The French artist, Greuze (1725-1805), who painted this well-known work, known as "The Broken Pitcher," presents, in "the graceful and innocent beauty of young girls," which characterized an important part of his work, an interesting contrast with the flapper of today

of woman suffrage is one the general public has probably not noticed, or if so, has not comprehended. A vast army has been demobilized. What became of the army? Every woman discharged from the suffrage campaign merely stepped back into the ranks of the broader woman movement from which she and her predecessors emerged some seventy-five years ago with the definite object of eliminating one discrimination against women. Having achieved the aim of that endeavor by notable sacrifice and effort, they returned to carry on. What is the woman movement and what is its aim?

It is a demand for equality of opportunity between the sexes. It means that when and if a woman is as well qualified as a man to fill a position, she shall have an equal and unprejudiced chance to secure it. Like the flow of a river which finds itself checked by a slide of ice and digs a new bed around it and then proceeds upon its way, so the woman movement, with 600 years behind it, concentrated its chief efforts for a time in digging around a huge political obstacle; having finished that task, it flows on.

What will bring the revolt to a close? Women have freedom of education, but restricted opportunities to use it. Women have the vote, but the old prejudices still rise to forbid freedom of action within the political parties. Nothing but time and many small skirmishes will change these conditions. Absolute equality of opportunity only will satisfy and therefore close the woman movement.

A complete list of objects yet to be attained might have been enumerated had world affairs remained where they were when the woman suffrage campaign began. Alas, that world is no longer here. The new industrialization has robbed women

of the economic dignity they enjoyed for thousands of years, since it has taken every home creation and now produces it in factories. There women have followed their old work and do for wages what their ancestors did as a family task. A "woman in industry" problem has therefore arisen. High rents, high cost of food and clothing are threatening the maintenance of the home. Hotels, restaurants, the delicatessen and the tin can have become conspicuous factors in the adjustment still in a disturbing state of confusion. Garden spots, once important family reserves, have given way to sites of

apartments. Why a garden, when the family insist upon eating lettuce and strawberries in January and oranges and turnips in August? The high cost of births, measles and whooping cough, milk and little shoes, sickness and funerals, has reduced or eliminated the one-time precious family. Besides the former simple aim of equality of opportunity, the woman movement is now compelled to seek the solution of a host of new problems with which it is confronted. The aim of women under these circumstances may be stated as the determination to work out their own destiny under these new and changed conditions.

The direct results of the enfranchisement of women in its brief trial may be enumerated as follows:

1. The vote has been used in all the States to secure the removal of discriminations against women under the law, to prevent the passing of other proposed discriminations and to improve the legislation which concerns women and children.

2. Women vote in numbers surprisingly approaching that of men voters. Examination indicates it is not true that women, more than men, are neglecting their political opportunities of expressing their opinions at the polls.

3. The testimony is general that the presence of women at the polls in the capacity of voters and election officials has quite altered the character of election day, making it a peaceful and dignified function.

4. The service of women in high positions to which they have been appointed by the Federal, State and local governments, or elected as members of Legislatures, national, State, county and local officials, has been satisfactorily intelligent and in accord with the public good.

5. Civilization has always been lopsided, being strong where men's ambitions are keenest and lamentably weak where women's interests are strong. A careful investigation of the results of woman suffrage reveals the fact that women voters

are most active and most effective in efforts to adjust this abnormal development of civilization. An enormous number of women have been called into service within the field of health, care of maternity, children, old people and dependents of every kind. Women are building strong, well thought out, constructive programs concerning public welfare and are thus using their vote to do what has always been the acknowledged specific work of women.

To sum up: The woman suffrage campaign has been only an incident in the age-old woman movement, always aiming at opportunity. The campaign destroyed legal barriers to the political freedom of women, but it did not convince the minority, who also carry on. Now and then some one from this minority writes an article, makes a speech or publishes an editorial filled with fiery resentment at something women voters have or have not done. Such pronouncements may ruffle the mental composure of uninformed readers, but experienced suffragists receive them in much the spirit with which the astronomer greets a comet whose coming he has predicted. They are only symptoms of the pains of surrender.

The irritations within the political parties which most voters experience are also normal. Political managers are shocked to discover that women are not content to vote any ticket and support any platform which a few leaders have decided upon in a convention bedroom, and women partisans are disturbed because their welcome into the party is only into the outside vestibule. The battle of the old complexes is thus proceeding, but is combined with another problem. Equality of political opportunity for women plus equality of party rights for men, on the one hand, versus so-called "boss rule" on the other is the ferment now working. Time will give a clearance. Woman suffrage, man suffrage, politics are all normally, wholesomely moving forward. The anxiety comes only from the critics who are reluctant to become reconciled to the march of events.



Woman's Achievements Since the Franchise

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The Home: Its Work and Influence, *The Man-Made World*

IN the long effort to persuade that half of the adult population having the ballot to give it to the half who did not have it, it was natural that the petitioners should lay stress on the advantages to be gained by admitting them, and equally natural that the grantors should expect these advantages to follow immediately. During the scant seven years since the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, repeated demands have been made for some account of the various benefits so warmly promised. There is more than one line of approach in a study of the progress of woman in those seven years. Some gains are to be attributed to the general advance of the time, some to the rapid progress women were making without the franchise, some to the indirect influence of that new power, and a considerable number of achievements through legislation must be recorded.

For direct political action we have the record of the League of Women Voters, the National Woman's Party and the Woman's Joint Congressional Committee. Of the last, Maud Wood Park, in her "Organized Women and Their Legislative Progress," remarks: "Nothing like this Joint Committee exists for any other group of voters, certainly nothing like it represents men's organizations as such."

Twenty-two national organizations of women, including such large ones as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Women, the National W. C. T. U. and Y. W. C. T. U., constituting many millions of voters, carry out their programs of Federal legislation through this body. It does not, as a body, either propose or indorse legislation, but when a bill is called for by five or more of the constituent organizations a subcommittee is formed from their representatives to promote it.

In these early efforts it is reassuring to see that women are working not merely for advantages confined to their own sex, although these naturally predominate. In that valuable handbook, *Women of Today*, compiled by Ida Clyde Clark, issue of 1925,

the aims of these subcommittees are listed as follows: The Child Labor Amendment, entrance of the United States into the World Court, amendment of Civil Service Classification act, adequate appropriation for United States Children's Bureau and Woman's Bureau, continuance of Federal work for social hygiene, action by Congress creating a Federal Department of Education and providing Federal aid to the States for the eradication of illiteracy, for Americanization and for equalization of educational opportunity, promotion of home economics by increased funds and facilities under Vocational Education act.

"Five acts of Congress already passed in the last three years," says Miss Clark, "have been due to the efforts of these women's organizations. They are: A statutory provision for the maintenance of the Woman's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor; the Shepard-Towner act, which was adopted as a means of reducing the high mortality of mothers and babies in childbirth by providing Federal aid to the States to be used through the State health authorities; the Cable act, providing individual citizenship for women irrespective of marital status; a compulsory education law for the District of Columbia increasing the school attendance period, and provision for a Federal institution for women prisoners."

The League of Women Voters is a most valuable organization, doing needed work to promote political education and taking other action for the public welfare. In its 1925 convention the charge of political indifference among women was discussed, and it was shown that in the Presidential election of 1920, 49 per cent. of our total vote was cast, and in that of 1924, 50.92 per cent. If the admission of women raises the total percentage of votes scarcely one-tenth it at least shows that women vote in about the same proportion as men. If men, with all their years of political power, knowledge and experience, send only half their number to the polls, why should we expect the new voters to do more? Many women were

totally indifferent to the right and duty of voting; some were opposed. Indeed, there was in New York—perhaps there still is—one of the most pathetically absurd of organizations, the "Society of Women Voters Opposed to Woman Suffrage."

The matters under discussion at the Convention of the League of Women Voters show the league's major interests and purposes; as, efficiency in government, international cooperation to prevent war, child welfare, legal status of women, living costs, social hygiene, women in industry, public welfare in government. In four years the league has worked for thirteen Federal measures which were carried, and in the same period, in forty-five States, for 420 laws which were enacted. These activities were chiefly directed toward improving conditions for women and children, and were practically all for social betterment. They compare most favorably with special measures proposed during this period by the previous voters.

WORKING FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

The National Woman's Party is also a fine example of single-hearted devotion to one purpose, as well as of highly developed organization and efficiency. By no means satisfied with obtaining the franchise, the leaders of this party point out the many humiliating disabilities still legally restricting women, as vividly described by Edna Kenton in "The Ladies' Next Step." (*Harp-er's Magazine*, February, 1926). These disabilities they seek to remove by a "blanket" amendment to the Constitution: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and in every place subject to its jurisdiction." This measure is opposed by the League of Women Voters and by a subcommittee of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, who consider it "self-defeating as to equality and destructive of valuable existing laws." So strongly is this felt that in the International Conference of Suffragists in Paris in 1926, the National Woman's Party was refused admission to the alliance. Nevertheless, the conference did adopt a resolution declaring that "no obstruction shall be placed in the way of married women in paid work, and the laws relative to women should be so framed as not to handicap them in their economic position."

This in some degree takes the ground of the opposed Lucretia Mott amendment, but that measure covers it more thoroughly, and as the N. W. P. points out, "insures to women free choice among all occupations,

equal opportunity for training in the professions, equal opportunity for advancement in professions and in industry, the basing of protective legislation on the character of the work, not the sex of the worker; and, further, will remove women from the class of children and tend to promote legislation in the interests of childhood."

For the first four years of full suffrage the N. W. P. can list among its achievements the drafting and introduction into Congress of this amendment, the conducting of a thorough investigation of discrimination against women in the laws of all the States, the drafting of more than 500 equal rights measures for introduction into State Legislatures; the organization of professional and industrial councils to work for equal economic opportunities for women; the wiping out of specific discrimination in the laws of seventeen States and the conducting of the first organized effort to elect women to Congress.

It is quite beyond the limits of this brief study to examine the 420 newly enacted State laws worked for by the League of Women Voters, or the 500 laws drafted by the National Woman's Party, but "the traces of woman's hand" in one State may be taken as a sample of the general trend. The substance of some of the amendments and additions enacted in the laws of California since 1921 follows herewith: Married women given general right to sue or be sued without husband; creation of division of dental hygiene for children under State Boards of Health; stiffening of act to enforce educational rights of children; raising legal age of marriage to 18 for boys, 16 for girls, if approved by parents—otherwise 21 and 18; punishment of father for failure to provide for legitimate or illegitimate child; abandonment of legitimate or illegitimate child, born or unborn, by father a misdemeanor; various amendments to Juvenile Court laws; domicile of husband not prima facie domicile of wife in divorce actions, in each case a question of fact; guardianship by will or deed, to take effect on death, may be made by either parent with consent of other, by the survivor, or in case of illegitimacy by mother: each may appoint a guardian of property which child will inherit from either parent; husband to provide for incompetent wife: in case of his inability, guardian of wife may pay expense in part or whole out of her estate; wife must join with husband in conveyance or lease for more than a year of community, real or personal property: if husband conveys to innocent purchaser, wife has year

to set conveyance aside; in the public school curriculum these additional subjects must be taught: "thrift, fire-prevention, the humane treatment of animals, the evil effects on the human system of tobacco, alcohol and other narcotics." In addition to the general statute that there shall be no instruction reflecting upon citizens of the United States because of race, color or creed, it is provided that there shall be "no amusements or entertainments in or about any school * * * reflecting in any way upon citizens of the United States because of their race, color or creed."

It will be seen even from the short list given above that the Equal Rights amendment would compel the wife to support an incompetent husband, and that the mother would be punished for failure to provide for her child or for abandoning it, and that kind of equality is not desired by all women.

One historic failure the woman voter has already made: she has not used her power to compel the passing of the Child Labor amendment. The opposition of many States to further extension of the Federal power accounts for part of this failure, and the misconception of the amendment as mandatory, when in reality it was only permissive, is another excuse; but neither justifies the mothers of our country in failing to protect their children. It is true that most of the women's organizations stood behind the measure, while those against it, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the Associated Industries of Massachusetts and the Southern Textile Manufacturers, were composed of men, but the women's vote should have been solidly for the measure, and it was not.

In elective and appointive offices women are gradually increasing in numbers. Dr. Hatcher, writing in *Independent Woman*, says that their proportion in political appointments is about one in fifteen. But when we consider the obstacles in sentiment and prejudice to be overcome, as well as visible inexperience, this is not so bad a beginning. President Coolidge has appointed Mrs. D. Tillinghast of Boston as Immigration Commissioner for New England; we have had one temporary woman United States Senator, two Governors, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt states in an article on "What Women Have Done With the Vote" in *The Independent* that there were seventy women in State Legislatures in 1924 and 1925; also hundreds of women in State, town and county offices, many in minor judgeships and in Federal appointments to important



MRS. CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

posts, chiefs of bureaus and assistants to Cabinet officers. In the Postal Service there have been 23,715 women appointees, 13 of them in the class drawing salaries of from \$3,300 to \$6,000. The small number of women drawing large salaries in this field is paralleled in industry by the position of the trades unions, which still make it difficult for women to secure the apprenticeship needed to become skilled workers. Lorine Pruette, in an article in *Independent Woman* for June, 1927, says there is "a sub-zone given over to women where only routine and mechanical labor is required," that they are "the mental hewers of wood and drawers of water for our occupational system."

One definite accomplishment of the new voters is the securing of a much-needed new City Charter for Cincinnati. The only woman Alderman elected in New York City contributes an article in *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1927, on the utter uselessness of the Board of Aldermen.

There are advances made by women during this brief period, not voted for, yet more or less influenced by the power to vote. Of these advances the most intangible is an increasing and much-appreciated respect for the new citizen's opinions and preferences. Another gain is in the tacit

recognition by politicians that the private character of candidates must be considered more than it used to be; and still another, most practical and useful, is in the improved conditions in voting places. Questions of salary and of eligibility for appointment also are influenced to some degree; as, for instance, the action of a school board might be modified by a recollection of the voting power of thousands of women teachers.

Especially we must consider the new impetus given to the previously organized bodies of women who were working for social progress without the ballot and whose efforts are formidably strengthened with it. The International Council of Women, for instance, which met in Washington, D. C., in May, 1925, had delegates from thirty-eight countries, representing 38,000,000 organized women, the large majority of whom are voters. This International Council is composed of national councils, and they in turn consist of great federated bodies, like the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the W. C. T. U. and many others. Since attaining political equality new groups have been formed and new purposes formulated. A Conference on the Cause and Cure of War held in Washington, D. C., in 1925 comprised nine organizations with a membership totaling some 5,000,000 voters. The deliberations of groups like this must have more weight than when they had no other weapon than appeal. To be compared, or perhaps contrasted, with this meeting was a National Defense Conference, including different bodies of women, not nearly so numerous, who were aiming at a nationwide educational campaign to show that in war-preparedness lies the best insurance of peace. (The peaceful influence of Germany's war-preparedness was probably not mentioned as an argument.) In world politics the establishment of peace is the largest single issue for which women are working at present, though they have various aims, as indicated by the nature of their many international organizations, new and old. A comparatively new one is the International Federation of University Women, whose third biennial conference, recently held in Christiania, Norway, was attended by 300 delegates, representing twenty national branches. An international conference of women engineers, with forty delegates present, shows forcibly the widening in range of occupations open to women. The International Congress of Working Women has an immense membership.

As to women in industry, the salient fact

is the increase of married workers. Lorine Pruette, author of *Women and Leisure*, states that: "Since 1910 there has been a total increase for all women in industry of only 7 per cent., while for married women the increase is 41 per cent." Also that: "In the professions married women have increased by 62 per cent., as against 38 per cent. for all women." We have now about eight and a half million women wage earners—or, shall we say, wage getters?—with over two million married. A study made by Virginia Collier for the Bureau of Vocational Information gives instances of successful combination of motherhood and a career, in work including salesmanship, teaching, the arts, social work, law, medicine, research and administration, with salaries up to \$27,000.

Married or single, the women are becoming more numerous in industry, decreasing only in agriculture and domestic service. Over 5,000 are engaged in life insurance, many earning salaries from \$5,000 to \$12,000, some over \$25,000. The establishment of the Women's Association of Commerce of the United States shows something of their number and importance. Miss Vail Anderson, recently appointed assistant cashier in the Chase National Bank, is said to be the first woman in an executive position in a Wall Street banking institution; but that financial stronghold has for years had a woman editor—Mrs. C. G. Wyckoff—on *The Magazine of Wall Street*, who has now acquired a minority ownership in the periodical. Another successful woman, Mrs. Lucy C. Thomas, now Mrs. Ament, owns and manages *The New York Telegraph*.

Mrs. Rachel Neill of Orange, N. J., personally runs a planing mill at the age of 70, and Mrs. F. M. Jones of Tacoma, Wash., has been elected head of the Northwestern Lumber Company at 77. Miss M. E. Dillon is Vice President and general manager of the Brooklyn Borough Gas Company, a \$5,000,000 corporation; Mrs. L. M. Gilbreth, the mother of eleven children, is America's leading woman industrial engineer.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

There is certainly a new spirit among women. A recent striking example in the educational field was given by Miss Rena Rockwell, head of the department of history in Elmira City High School. The Board of Education allowed a larger salary to a man teacher in her department, whereat she obtained a peremptory order of mandamus compelling equalization. The Judge held that the case showed discrimination on ac-



Braun & Co.

Gainsborough's portrait of an eighteenth century lady, "The Honorable Mistress Graham." The picture is reproduced as an example of feminine personality and attire in long by-gone days, before the Feminist Movement had arisen

count of sex, in violation of New York State statutes relating to equal pay for equal work.

In education women are making increasing progress, as students, as teachers and professors, as authors of textbooks and initiators of new educational ventures. Marietta Johnson's admirable and progressive schools in Fairhope, Ala., and Greenwich, Conn., are showing their wide influence through the opening of many similar ones in other parts of the country.

Cora Wilson Stewart of Kentucky, the "Moonlight School Lady," received the 1924

Pictorial Review award of \$5,000 for her great service. Beginning in Rowan County, Kentucky, she opened the scattered public schools of the mountains for evening sessions for adults, the teachers giving their services voluntarily. Only on moonlight nights were the mountain roads passable. Men and women up to eighty years of age eagerly took advantage of the opportunity, and the work has now spread over a large part of the United States.

In Germany, the first woman Professor has been appointed, Frau Baerting of Jena. In Japan, Dr. Tomi Wada is the first woman to receive appointment on the staff of the Imperial University at Fukwoka. In France, Miss Chloe Owings became a Doctor of the Sorbonne, her thesis being on juvenile delinquency. Miss Owings is now director of the Protective Measures Division of the American Social Hygiene Association.

A new step in education is the opening of the Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests, at Smith College, under Ethel Puffer Howes, in recognition of the difficulties before the trained woman worker who wishes to harmonize marriage and motherhood with her career.

Along the same line of development is the rapid increase of the "Nursery School" or "Play School," taking children of age as low as eighteen months. Smith has such a Nursery School, Vassar has a Summer School for the same work, and Teachers College in New York is carrying on research in similar lines. This increased interest in child study and "pre-school" education marks an improvement in parental responsibility as well as the economic activities of mothers. How far the use of the ballot has directly affected this side of the problem must be determined from the extension of

such provision for children in the public school system.

We find women also in unlooked-for lines. Miss Erna Fergusson, for instance, is head of a guide service in New Mexico; she is thoroughly trained in archaeology, geology and the history and customs of the Pueblo people. Other women are striking out new work for themselves, as two young women in New York who have made good in their "Book Post Service." An astonishing number are found in aviation, and Miss Helen Schultz, at twenty-three, owns and manages a sixteen-car 'bus line in Mason City, Iowa.

Of women in science Mme. Curie remains the most notable—her income, by the way, being given in *Time* of Jan. 17, 1927, as but \$1,500. In this field also we find Florence R. Sabin, physiologist of Johns Hopkins, the first woman honored with a life membership in the National Academy of Science; and Annie J. Cannon, curator of Astronomical Photographs at Harvard, who is the third woman elected to the American Philosophical Society and the first who has received the Oxford degree of Doctor of Science. Miss Cannon has found and catalogued 225,217 stars. In applied science we find an International Society of Women Engineers, which has already been mentioned. Miss E. Clarke, transmission expert of the General Electric Company of Schenectady, N. Y., was delegate to a recent conference of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers and read a paper on high-power transmission.

Among women explorers Mrs. Delia J. Akely stands high; she was formerly the wife of Mr. Carl Akely and traveled with him in Africa. She was a good shot, bringing down the biggest elephants, and once saved the life of her husband, whom later she divorced. She has since been across the Dark Continent alone with her safari of blacks. She is described as grayhaired, of slight physique, but competently pursues her way, securing specimens for the Brooklyn Museum. Largely similar is the work of Marguerite Harrison, who assisted in the preparation of that Persian epic "Grass," accompanying the daring procession; and of Mrs. Johnson, who accompanies her husband in his photographic adventures in wild places.

In athletics also women are gaining. We have not only vigorous girls but stalwart mothers, as evidenced by the channel-swimming feat of Gertrude Ederle, who was soon followed by Mrs. Amelia G. Corson, aged 27 and the mother of two young chil-

dren. Mrs. G. W. Wightman, who has five children, won three titles in the indoor championship tennis tournament of 1927, singles, doubles and mixed doubles. In golf, in tennis, in long-distance walking, the record of women rises. There have always been women athletes from the days of ancient Crete, and the savage past, but they are being rediscovered now. Not only in strength but in courage are women gaining, as is reflected so sharply in current literature. Our heroines no longer faint on Reginald's breast, but frequently rescue Reginald when he needs it. They are no longer blushing maidens of sixteen, but unblushing matrons of all periods of life. In Rose Macaulay's delightful novel, *Dangerous Ages*, the charming "leading lady" who slips out in her pajamas for a bath in a woodland pool, and breakfasts in a tree, is forty-three; while the other ladies, all dangerous, are her young daughter and her middle-aged mother. The only age considered "safe" is that of the great-grandmother.

LITERATURE, DRAMA AND ART

Literature has long been an art in which women have distinguished themselves, from the poems of Sappho to those of Edna St. Vincent Millay, whose *Renascence*, written before she was twenty, was the poetic sensation of the year. These recent years have shown much distinctly modern work in verse by women, as by Hilda Doolittle, leader of the "Imagists," or in distinctive work on more permanent lines. This poetic output covers a wide range, from the nonsense rhymes by Carolyn Wells to the deeply serious poems of the late Amy Lowell, distinguished both as poet and critic. Many names stand out, as Olive Dargan, Florence Wilkinson, Sara Teasdale, Winifred Wells, Anna Hempstead Branch and Alice Kilmer, whose *Poor King's Daughter* was even "a best seller" in non-fiction.

But fiction is the main avenue of expression among women, as it is among men. Ann Parrish won in the Harper's Prize Novel contest for 1925, with *The Perennial Bachelor*; the year before Margaret Wilson won it with *The Able McLaughlins*; Inez Haynes Irwin won an O. Henry Memorial prize; and Martha Ostenso, for her novel *Wild Geese*, won the \$13,500 jointly awarded by the *Pictorial Review*, Famous Players-Lasky and Dodd, Mead & Co.

Doubleday, Page & Co. described as their "four aces" in one recent year *So Big*, by Edna Ferber; *Love*, by "Elizabeth"; *Barren Ground*, by Ellen Glasgow, and *The Con-*



Cosmo Pictures

Portrait by Mme. Vigée Le Brun (1755-1842) of herself and her daughter. She was a court painter in the days of Marie Antoinette—a striking example of women who have attained eminence in art

stant Nymph, by Margaret Kennedy. Edith Wharton still holds her high place in American letters; Mary Johnston, Mary Austin, Gertrude Atherton keep up their output; Agnes Repplier and Ida Tarbell are putting out fine work. Anne Douglas Sedgwick has followed her charming *Little French Girl* by *The Old Countess*. Among later names is the delightful Eleanor Mercein, who has given us a fresh vision of romance and humor, beauty and honor, among the Basques; and Beatrice Demarest Lloyd, who has an exquisite literary touch.

In other countries, also, women are doing fine work in literature. Selma Lagerlöf, once taker of the Nobel prize, lately produced her much-praised *Marbaca*; there are many in England showing new angles in

modern thought. Here I should mention the late Ellen Key, the world-honored, of whom Georg Brandes said: "Ellen Key has influenced women as no one else," and whom Maeterlinck called "the good, the great, the noble Ellen Key." In France has been established *Le Prix Femina*, it being felt that the Academy was slow in doing justice to women. This new tribunal, which offers a prize of 5,000 francs for best work in verse or prose, has shown its impartiality so far by giving its award to but five women competitors.

In dramatic writing we find again a wide range of work. Edna St. Vincent Millay wrote the "book" for Deems Taylor's new American opera, *The King's Henchman*. Elisabeth Marbury is both playwright and agent, and political manager as well; and, topping a list of others of varying degree, stands Anne Nichols, whose *Abie's Irish Rose* has brought her over five million dollars, not including movie rights!

Acting is an art in which women have won high distinction, and the American stage gives them due honor. We have

as yet no equal to Duse or Bernhardt, but we are proud of Mary Shaw, actress, lecturer and feminist, who has done so much to bring us the work of Ibsen and of "G. B. S." Minnie Maddern Fiske is still at work, not merely on the stage, but for the protection of animals. She wishes to have "outlawed" the cruelty of steel-jawed traps as used by fur hunters. "Humane" work among women is nobly meant, but so long as women are the unremonstrating market of the fur trade it does not get far.

There are actresses of high ability in plenty, and as to the screen, never was there such a "cloud of witnesses" to the drawing power of beauty. Nazimova is even greater as a pantomimist than in what we now pathetically distinguish as "the spoken

drama," and another distinguished actress and beautiful woman is Pauline Frederick, who has lately returned to the stage, scoring a tremendous hit in *Madame X* in London, where she was compared to Ellen Terry and Mrs. Pat Campbell.

A successful actress both in England and America is Eva Le Gallienne, who has recently founded the Civic Repertory Theatre in New York, "to produce fine plays in true repertory at low prices." This furnishes continuous employment to actors forty weeks in the year. The undertaking is so successful that there is a demand for similar theatres elsewhere.

Jessie Bonstelle of the Community Theatre in Detroit, after sixteen years' experience in a stock company, has established six annual scholarships, two in dramatic courses, two in production and two in dancing. Dancing has become more widely popular as an art since Isadora Duncan showed us what may be compared to "free verse" in the formerly measured steps. It has new forms, new names, new freedoms. Agna Enters, for instance, calls her performances "compositions in dance form," described as "dance, pantomime, drama—something more."

In music women continue to shine as performers, do increasingly well as composers, and are becoming conductors. Margaret Dessoff was leader of a concert of Schola Cantorum in New York City, February, 1927. Ethel Leginska, who played in concert at six, and made her professional debut at sixteen, has conducted in such first-class orchestras abroad as the Berlin Philharmonic, the Munich Konzertverein, and the Orchestra of the Paris Conservatoire. On Jan. 25, 1925, she conducted the New York Symphony Concert at Carnegie Hall. There is a Woman's Symphony Orchestra of Philadelphia, founded by Mabel Swift Ewer, with Florence Haenle, violinist, as concert master; and as an instance of true American enterprise we have Mrs. A. M. Carter, who has given us the Hollywood Bowl. This majestic stadium at Los Angeles is on sixty-five acres, valued at \$1,500,000, and in 1925 the attendance rose to 220,000. Mary Garden, eminent both as singer and actress, has become Director of the Chicago Opera House, and our latest star is the young and lovely Marian Talley of Kansas. Olga Samaroﬀ, the great pianist, has risen to further heights by becoming musical critic on *The New York Evening Post*. Of her, at least, it will not be said that she writes of something she does not know and can not do.

There is perhaps no outstanding work

among women painters and sculptors, though we have good names in both arts, too many to count here, with Cecelia Beau still holding her high place. As an achievement of youth we may mention Miss Marsue Burrows of New York, who, at fifteen, had two miniatures accepted at the Paris Salon—the youngest exhibitor on record.

ATTAINMENT IN MEDICINE AND LAW

Women in medicine would have shown more marked attainment but for the discrimination against them as internes in hospital practice. There are now five hospitals, staffed entirely by women, which will help to amend this. Dr. Florence E. Kraker has been appointed specialist in maternal hygiene in The Children's Bureau; Dr. Blanche N. Epier, the United States Public Health Bureau, has been given the place of contract physician for Coast Stations—the first woman so appointed.

The practice of law seems more popular. We have some twenty-six hundred women lawyers, the youngest, apparently being Miss C. H. Buck of California, admitted at twenty-one. From these rise many judges, high among whom we must place Kathryn Sellers, Judge of the Juvenile Court in Washington, D. C., who, after six years' valuable service, was recently re-elected. Judge Florence Allen, of the Ohio Supreme Court, is the only woman in the world to sit on a court of last resort. Judge Edith Anderson of Miami, Fla., has a husband who is also a judge—the only instance in the country. Miss Grace M. Eddy of Wisconsin is "Special Assistant to United States Attorney" in New York City. Miss Susan Brandeis, daughter of Associate Justice Brandeis, has been admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court; and so has Violette N. Andrews, a colored woman, after her three years' previous practice before the Supreme Court of Illinois.

It is difficult to give figures in moral progress or regression, but if divorce is any indication of our moral status we show an increase which speaks volumes. Our average previous to 1922 shows a gain of 30 per cent. in five years, i. e., 6 per cent. a year; but census returns for 1923 show an increase of 11 per cent. over 1922. In that year we had one divorce to seven marriages. When besides the frequency of divorce we find the duration of the matrimonial experiment becoming less and less, in many cases not lasting a year, it is not surprising to go a step further and find that there are in Boston, besides the regular hospitals, five lying-in hospitals for unmarried mothers.

The New Woman in the Making

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IN order to comprehend the history of any institution or movement in society it is necessary to know why and how organisms learn. Human history is fundamentally not a series of dates and events, but an account of the attacks which men have made upon the obstacles confronting them in their unending search for greater satisfactions. History is a record of collective learning, and the history of woman-kind is the record of a learning process carried out by countless thousands through untold time.

During the opening years of the twentieth century much has been discovered from exact experiment as to how a living creature behaves when learning (Thorndike, E. L., *Animal Intelligence*, 1911). In the first place, a creature does not learn if it is completely satisfied. In order to learn, there must be hunger, some impulse from inner craving or annoyance. A kitten, for instance, if hungry for food, when placed in a cage with food outside, will try to escape.

Studying all kittens, and at the same time all living organisms, by means of the individual kitten experimentally caged, we observe how the latter strives to satisfy its hunger. Its strivings are "blind" and uninformed. It jumps up, jumps down, bites the bars, claws the bars, utters vocal sounds, does nearly everything that it as an organism can do. The watching psychologist describes this turning and twisting as being driven by hunger into *trial-and-error-activity*. The trapped or puzzled organism engages in random acts until it becomes exhausted or *by chance* strikes a knob which opens a door to escape. The latter, or chance act, will become fixed as habit, if the situation be sufficiently often repeated.

This process of arriving at solution of a puzzle is capable of much more detailed analysis than we can consider here. For a general understanding of the New Woman in the making it is, perhaps, enough for us to note that a puzzle or question is created whenever a craving organism is balked in the search for satisfaction; that uninformed, multiple activity is then set up; and that whatever act within the available repertoire happens to bring satisfaction

will become fixed habit. The caged and hungry kitten will eventually learn to act habitually in *any* way that will bring it food. The act thus finally instituted as customary need not be the "best" or "most appropriate" act, such as opening the door of the cage. It may be the kitten's act of scratching its ear or of licking its forepaw. The psychologist can experimentally produce "foolish" or "perverse" behavior if he will but wait repeatedly until the kitten sits down and scratches its ear, let us say, and will then repeatedly seize that moment to release the animal from craving.

In human beings presented with puzzles the same process of learning is observed. In mankind the trial-and-error search for solution is somewhat less a matter of gross, random movement than in the case of a kitten. Man may do what we call "thinking," darting hither and thither "in his mind" for suggestions, moving meanwhile only his eyes, vocal cords and other smaller muscles. Basically, however, thinking is nothing but trial-and-error effort to find a way out, and is governed by the same laws of learning which govern the puzzled cat. Thus from experimental psychology we are able to state the fundamental principle underlying the history of womankind: *A puzzled organism will learn to do whatever happens to bring relief from its major persistent craving.*

We are now in position to examine the nature of the trap or puzzle which has long been called the "Woman Question," and to reflect upon the record of attempted solutions of it, as women have come down the centuries. The woman question is and always has been simply this: How to reproduce the species and at the same time to win satisfaction of the human appetites for food, security, self-assertion, mastery, adventure, play, and so forth. Man satisfies these cravings by competitive attack, both physical and mental, upon the environment. As compared with man, woman has always been in a cage, with these satisfactions outside. The cage has been her cumbersome reproductive system. Let him who doubts the nature of woman's puzzle investigate old wives' vocabularies. "Caught," "confined," "in trouble," "tied down"—ask your grandmother what these words mean,

but ask her tactfully, for they stand to her for realities of a sort to require reticence. In her youth she formed the habit of using this vocabulary in a lowered voice, common decency forbidding the futile drain on public sympathy which follows from unbridled recital of woes that cannot be eased.

The element creating the woman question, as distinguished from the thousands of simply human questions, resides thus in human physiology. Primitive woman was typically engaged from puberty in conceiving, bearing, rearing, transporting, feeding and burying infants. Throughout her maturity woman was physically attached to infants. The human infant requires a long period for gestation. It must be fed from the mother's breast and be carried upon her back for a long time, under primitive conditions. Its birth is painful, and the mother may be crippled temporarily or permanently thereby. Moreover, human infants are conceived and borne at the natural rate of one each year or two, at any season, in Winter as well as in Summer; and they attain the substantial weight of 20 to 30 or even 40 pounds while still too immature to walk far or to run.

How to get mastery over the wild earth, with its storms, its cold, its wild beasts, its hostile tribes, its capricious food supply, is a hard puzzle for a creature carrying infants within and upon her body, year in and year out. The obvious solution of killing or abandoning the infant (Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, 1911) was adopted with decreasing frequency as generations passed, because those who were emotionally constituted to favor or tolerate this solution died out from the race by failure to leave offspring, while those who clung most tenaciously to their infants replenished human nature.

There is a way of satisfying the craving for subsistence, which in primitive life is always major, without sacrificing the infant. This way is to get the protection and help of others, whose reproductive systems are not cumbersome. Thus if men would supply food and security, women could live with their infants. At the same time, men were moved by sex attraction, and by the comfort of routine work performed for them, to provide protection for women and children. The sex difference in reproductive function thus determined that men should hunt and fight and train boys to do these things. All other primitive labors were compatible with maternity, and devolved on women. Among typical savages "the women gather vegetable food, carry

home water and wood, keep up the fire, erect and pull down shelters, prepare the skins, make the clothing, carry all the goods when traveling, besides bearing and rearing all the children." (Müller-Lyer, F., *History of Social Institutions*, 1921.)

The uninformed nature of these primitive adjustments in the life of savage woman is emphasized by the fact that she at first lacked even knowledge of the real cause of infants. It would almost certainly be a long time in human experience before the real cause of childbirth was discovered. This is exact knowledge, of a kind emerging only from accumulated data, systematic observation and logical inference. It is, in short, scientific knowledge. It might be supposed that these facts would have been learned by observation of animals, who require but a short period of gestation, but it must be remembered that animals were not domesticated until somewhat later in human endeavors. That man existed and multiplied long before the discovery of paternity seems certain, and evidence for this condition appears in the studies of anthropologists. (Hartland, E. S., *Primitive Paternity*, 1910.) Childbirth was evidently at first attributed by analogy to the influence of the sun, the rain, the trees and the dead.

FIRST CHANGES IN WOMAN'S STATUS

We do not know how long the human species had existed before acute thinkers demonstrated the true and invariable cause of infants. At all events this was disseminated knowledge by the time records of civilization were established in Crete, Egypt and Greece. The discovery of paternity must have affected woman's then existing status variously. In the first place, men learning that they too were creators of children, must have been modified in their attitude toward procreation. In order to identify "his own flesh and blood" it was now plainly to be seen that a man must insure strict faithfulness to himself in sex relations, on the part of the mother. In the interests of such assurance special restrictions were placed upon women, under the concept of feminine virtue. By the time Hammurabi, King of Babylonia, formulated his code of social regulation, in 2250 B. C. (*The Code of Hammurabi*, 2250, B. C. Harper's Translation, University of Chicago Press, 1904), the ideal of feminine virtue was well established, to hold for many subsequent centuries: "If the finger have been pointed at the wife of a man because of another man, * * * for her husband's

sake she shall throw herself into the river." No similar arrangement is made for a husband in like circumstances.

Pair marriage was also, no doubt, definitely promoted by the discovery of paternity. The man, now understanding that the children were created by him as well as by the woman, became the husband of the latter, guaranteeing subsistence, while she stood under obligation to perform for her lord and master such labor as was consistent with the limitations of her reproductive system. In pair marriage, as anciently instituted, the man was lord and master inevitably, because in any contract between two persons for mutual gain the one who needs the other least is in position to dictate terms.

Also, the discovery of paternity made it feasible to avoid procreation. This was a long step in the evolution of the New Woman. It is very doubtful whether there were any old maids under the most primitive conditions. After the discovery of paternity the intelligent and intentional old maid became possible.

The function of the strong, intelligent old maid must have been extremely important in the making of the New Woman. We know that many of the early verbal formulations of the woman question emanated from unmarried women. They had time and energy to examine closely the puzzle in which women were involved. Their minds were free from the importunate pressures of infants' needs to state the question as they severally saw it, and to offer suggestions for solution. Also, as time went on, these childless women were free to demonstrate in their own persons that women have abilities and aspirations other than those represented by reproduction and manual work. Subsistence finally being quite generally guaranteed by the increased mastery of humankind over the earth, and for women by pair marriage, cravings other than those for food and shelter began to be major, and to be stated as such.

Only a small part of the history of woman's status is a matter of written records. The greater part of the time of mankind lies, of course, in those darker than dark ages, before the invention of the alphabet. Verbal formulation of suggestions for change and improvement did not begin to be recorded by women until recent centuries. (Wollstonecraft, Mary: *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1798.) These suggestions we find to have been quite various, as would be expected from knowledge of how people learn. Some thinkers declared



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that suffrage would solve the woman question. Others believed that motherhood insurance would give the answer. Still others suggested that dress reform would go a long way toward solution.

Not a few of these spokeswomen were inclined to blame men as intentional, malevolent trappers of women. In this they gave men too much credit for far-sighted planning, and too little credit for kindly impulse. Woman was caged not by man but by her own physiological nature, as has been pointed out. It was inevitable, and indeed fair enough, that women should wrestle with their problems for themselves. Men had and have problems of their own to engage their attention. It must be noted, nevertheless, that men have not been, in fact, indifferent to the Woman Question. They, too, offered from time to time suggestions bearing directly upon its solution. Plato (400 B. C.), Samuel Sewall (1718), John Stuart Mill (1869), President Barnard (1882), John Dewey (1886), stand as conspicuous examples of such men. On the whole, however, people want what they are used to having; so that suggestions of change were widely resisted by those not personally afflicted with unsatisfied crav-

ings. Much censure of the advocates of "women's rights" was expressed. (Pol-whale, A.: *Unsexed Females*, 1798.)

The ideas expounded by suffragists and feminist reformers during the past hundred years did not, however, primarily cause the change in woman's status, but they had a secondary value in that they hastened the change by calling attention to it. The influence of Feminism as propaganda should, therefore, not be minimized. Woman suffrage was important to women when granted, and it is important to them today, not as a cause of change but as a sign of change in status. The New Woman had already been evolved before the vote was gained. Suppose typical women to be still bearing ten to fifteen infants each and still carrying forward the industrial work of the world by manual labor in the home. How could they use the vote to effect change in their condition? True, they might "pass a law" that men must not only hunt and fight but must also tend the children half of the time. A law, however, must be enforced as well as passed. Behind it must stand police and militia. It must be sufficiently in accord with human nature to be enforceable. Suffrage can be used to modernize law, but it has very limited use as an instrument to modernize people.

The primary causes of change in woman's status originated through the efforts of persons who were, as a group, indifferent to the Woman Question. Men of science, inventors and philosophers were the real makers of the New Woman.

For many centuries preceding the conscious formulation of scientific method (Bacon, F.: *The Advancement of Learning*, 1605) and the establishment of laboratories, invention had come slowly forward by the trial-and-error activities of acute thinkers. Probably about one in a hundred of human beings is capable of thinking with sufficient effect to produce new knowledge, however slight. The tool began to be known and used in the Stone Age and was improved upon constantly as time passed. New processes of obtaining greater material satisfaction were discovered, such as cooking, grinding, spinning and weaving. These, being at first manual processes, with tools fitted to the hand, made women industrial workers. All these tasks were originally carried out in complete compatibility with reproduction, since they could be done at home, near the cradle.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries great advances were made in science.

Printing came into use (1450). The microscope was invented (1590-1609). Steam was harnessed (1807). Electricity was studied (1800-25). Steel was made in quantity (1856). A thousand applications of physics and of chemistry were utilized, and industrial processes were made possible on a scale too large for the home. Factories arose. This exploitation of the tool, more commonly called the machine in recent years, has developed, until now scarcely any industrial work, save part of cooking, is done by hand in the home. The machine modified woman's environment tremendously and rather suddenly. (Smith H. B.: *Industrial History*, 1926.)

INFLUENCE OF BIOLOGY

Great as was this influence of applied physics and chemistry in the making of the New Woman, the influence of biological research was more potent still. In 1827, and years following, by means of the microscope, Van Baer and others observed the organisms which unite to form the new human being. From the advancement in exact knowledge of reproduction thus initiated, scientific methods of birth control other than celibacy were invented and disseminated.

Also in the field of biology, the publication of *The Origin of Species* (1859) indirectly affected woman's status by promulgating the conviction that human beings had not been divinely ordained once for all, but had in the past undergone evolution, and therefore might in future continue to change.

The influence of invention in the realm of ethical and social attitudes, though secondary to the advancement of science, was important. Aside from the ideas bearing directly upon the Woman Question, subsumed under the concept of Feminism, there were general systems of thought abroad which set the minds of increasing numbers to favor changes in woman's lot. Liberalism, naturalism and humanitarianism were promulgated as philosophies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is true that many of the chief exponents of these philosophies, Rousseau for instance, neglected the Woman Question, or denied it completely. Nevertheless, the spread of these points of view through the agency of print prepared men's minds to receive with sympathy verbal formulations of this question. (Mill, *The Subjection of Women*).

Thus, to recapitulate, by the opening of the twentieth century men of science were rapidly abolishing the need for woman's industrial labor in the home. They were

giving to woman control over reproduction. Liberation from the cage of her burdensome generative system was being achieved. By this time philosophy had developed points of view favorable to such liberation. Intelligent women had formulated the Woman Question in positive though somewhat various terms (Anthony, Katharine, *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia*, 1914) and had demonstrated women's abilities by their own exceptional lives.

"New women," therefore, emerged in considerable proportion upon the scene, especially in cities. These New Women were freed from incessant maternity and from routine hand labor, so that they could set about the satisfaction of human cravings according to individuality, as men do and have done. The essential fact about the New Women is that they differ among themselves, as men do, in work, in play, in virtues, in aspirations and in rewards achieved. They are women, not woman.

Is the Woman Question now finally answered so as to disappear? No, not yet. In any social change based on science and philosophy there remains in law, in religion and in common custom what sociologists call "lag." (Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change*, 1922.) The laws within which we live today were codified when the typical woman was a typical housewife without political entity. The creeds of churches were formulated when woman's status was that of chattel. Common custom preserves a thousand manners, which took form when women were protected or exploited in the home, ac-

ording to their luck in mating. "Lag" is of special interest to the New Woman, as it pertains to advance and change in mitigat-



John Singer Sargent's portrait of Mrs. Burckhardt, painted in 1882. Apart from its beauty as a work of art, the picture recalls the fashions in the period when the woman's movement was already gaining force

ing the burdens of reproduction. It is of record that the perambulator was deplored as wicked and dangerous when it was first invented. The true mother, it was said, carried her child "as God intended." The physician who first used anaesthetics to lighten the pains of childbirth was set upon for a scoundrel. At present birth control is condemned in religion and in law.

There are, in fact, numerous details of the New Woman's *modus vivendi*, which still remain to be worked out through the living of many experimental lives. For instance, although she is now gaining control of procreation, she does not yet know how to use this power most advantageously in the total management of life. She does not know how many children she should have, nor, all things considered, what years of her life are most suitable for bearing them. She does not know whether the artificial feeding of infants can be developed without detriment to the latter. She does not know how young children may best be supervised, whether in groups by experts, or in the isolated home by each mother herself. She does not know what to do about expectant motherhood. Is this a kind of illness, "a delicate condition"? Or is it a normal, healthy state?

The taboo on this state is still strong

among us. In primitive times men feared that the distortion and culminating pains of this condition might be communicated to them by sympathetic magic, and so they isolated the woman from their sight. Shrinking from any physical crisis in another person is deep-seated in human psychology. No artist has painted a realistic portrait of a prospective mother. Visible signs thereof on the lecture platform, on the medical staff, in congress, behind the counter has still to achieve the respectability attained in the kitchen and the laundry.

Each woman, even now, who sets out upon a way of life different from that of the dependent housewife, is still an explorer, especially if she sets out to mate and reproduce. The results of such experimental lives are being compiled and studied by the New Woman. (Collier, Virginia M., *Marriage and Careers*, 1926.) She is trying to chart the causes of success and failure. The New Woman of today is *consciously* experimenting with her own life to find out how women can best live. To experiment knowingly with one's own life to find the Good Life—surely this requires a courage and a genius deserving something better than blame or jeers, deserving at least open-minded toleration and assistance.



Cosmo Pictures

This picture, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, known as "Gossip," by Carl Marr, who was born in Milwaukee in 1858, but who lived subsequently mostly in Germany, recalls a domestic scene greatly unlike present-day home life

Woman's Encroachment on Man's Domain

By ANTHONY M. LUDOVICI

AUTHOR OF *Woman: a Vindication, A Defence of Conservatism* AND OTHER BOOKS ON SOCIAL AND LITERARY SUBJECTS; FORMER GENERAL STAFF OFFICER, BRITISH ARMY

NOTHING is easier in the investigation of extensive social changes than to confound cause and effect, influence and result. For the gradual emergence of a particular social form is frequently promoted and accelerated by the very conditions, whether psychological or physiological, which, after the event, it is believed to have brought about. Let any one reflect, for instance, on such apparently obvious results of the New Woman movement as the claim of sex-equality and the decline of domesticity among modern women, and consider the difficulty of determining how much of both anteceded the movement by many scores of years, and actually favored its progress.

Women as the most conservative of beings are prone to acquiesce in any established state of affairs. We may, therefore, go very far astray if we conclude too hastily that their claim of sex-equality and their present success in achieving social and industrial parity with men have been the outcome of an original and purely feminine struggle for emancipation. Ought we not first to inquire how often—aye, how incessantly—during the last hundred and eighty years the modern world, in England, France, Germany and America has either assumed this equality or made the most strenuous efforts to bring it about, at least in practice, if not in theory?

The essential factors in the maintenance of any position of authority or privilege are responsibility and protection. Over those we protect and are responsible for we may claim authority and privilege, and they readily grant us both. When once, however, we leave people to self-protection or self-responsibility, the position of authority and privilege is automatically abandoned. Now, long before the recent cry of sex equality was taken up by the Feminists (I say "recent" because the earlier Feminist movement of the seventeenth century in France died with the Revolution), Europe and especially England, which set the example in the most extreme form of epicene industrialism, had abandoned any idea of

distinguishing between men and women in the world of labor. Far from being protected, women were in most cases exploited more heartlessly than men, because they were more feeble. Far from the male legislators of civilized nations recognizing their responsibility in regard to women and their domestic traditions, the latter were ruthlessly assailed and broken up by drawing the women in thousands away from their homes. No thought was given to the consequences of the exploitation of female labor either from the standpoint of the nation's domestic life or of its children. It was only gradually that legislation was introduced to protect the married and single female from ruthless abuse; so how could a thought have been given to their homes and their children?

To ascribe the Feminist cry for equality and independence to the exertions of the modern woman or to suppose that the growing distaste for domestic duties is the outcome of her influence would therefore be preposterously inaccurate. Both the sex-equality and the indifference to domesticity were tacitly assumed over a hundred and eighty years ago by our ancestors, who inaugurated the Industrial Revolution and who imposed their hard credo in practice on the women of civilized nations by sheer force. By the side of such a reform as this, with its abandonment of the factors, protection and responsibility, such literary and hortatory efforts in favor of woman's independence as J. S. Mill's pamphlet, *The Subjection of Women*, are mere child's play. They are hardly more than a faint and barely perceptible gesture, confirming the deeper and stronger tendency of hard facts.

Moreover, we have also to remember that industrial and urban conditions themselves, which in the last hundred and eighty years have developed on such an enormous scale, have, if only by the emasculating tendency of the occupations which they offer to men, gone a long way toward destroying the difference in social functions between men and women. The constant spectacle of men working at tasks which every woman knows

she could easily undertake (and there are thousands of such tasks in any urban or industrial community, as the World War proved), carries much more conviction than the best-worded essay on the inferiority of men or the equality of the sexes. At the same time the steady degeneration of men, which began with the Industrial Revolution, has also given women every reason to abandon their old attitude of subserviency and discipleship toward them.

It would, therefore, obviously be most imprudent to say that the claim of sex-equality and independence, or the decline of domesticity among women, was the outcome of the New Woman movement. It is this difficulty of distinguishing between cause and effect which makes the writing of contemporary history so full of pitfalls.

Taking the words "encroachment on man's domain" in their broadest sense, and considering the phenomenon as a whole, apart from the great impetus it has received from comparatively recent and conscious Feminist efforts, and from the exigencies of the World War, it would appear that the chief psychological results of feminine influence have been:

ON MAN—(a) *A decline of the chivalrous spirit*, with its correlative loss of respect for and interest in woman, except on the physical side; hence an accentuation of materialism in the relation of the sexes. The clerks, typists and other bread-winners, who travel to work in big cities, are not men and women meeting by chance and glad of the fortuitous encounter. They are competitors, equals, in the struggle for existence, resenting each other's rivalry even in the sphere of seating accommodation. The sitting men do not even shift their eyes from their papers to contemplate the strap-hanging girls before them. Furthermore, when once the latter are known as rivals and equals, they cease to be judged by a different standard. Equals are judged by a common standard. So that when, to take but one example, a man sees his alleged equal, whether in a train or at a ledger, open a vanity bag and powder and paint her face, he seems to be seeing through a trick and beholding a weakness. Whereas formerly he accepted the end-result of secret titivation joyfully, he now despises those who, while contending with him in the arena of bread-winning, have recourse to such transparent expedients. It is probable that this decline in chivalry extends to all women.

(b) *A decline in sensitiveness and of natural reaction in the presence of women;*

hence the ability to resist to a far greater extent than his male forebears constant association and contact in his daily and hourly life with girls who are dressed in the scantiest attire. The development of modern fashions in women's morning, afternoon and working attire alone is a sign that far more potent stimuli can now be borne without prompt reaction than formerly. The constant association of young men and women in offices and workshops would be impossible if this were not so.

(c) *An accentuation of the hedonistic impulses*, due partly to the fact that most girls are now money earners, and that the cost of entertaining them is therefore frequently halved; and partly to the fact that girls are more free and therefore more easily secured as companions. More thought is given to having a "good time" with women than of founding a home and family. Even with the woman chosen in marriage pleasure takes precedence of normal functioning and responsibilities. The disproportionate increase of restaurants, theatres, dance-rooms and entertainments of all kinds in recent years presents one aspect of this change. Birth-control is another.

ON WOMEN—(a) *A destruction of their versatility*. The traditional difference between men and women in Western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, before the intensive employment of women in masculine callings, was the greater versatility of the female mind, its wider range of interests. By escaping the besetting influence of narrow specialization, characteristic of most male callings, women had retained a catholicity of tastes and interests, which often made their men appear empty and dull at their side. This difference is now disappearing. Women are beginning to show the effects of narrow and routine specialization, and are thus becoming intellectually and emotionally flatter and duller. The decline of the arts of conversation and the increasing cultivation of indoor and outdoor distractions of doubtful intellectual quality (the loud speaker often functions throughout a whole meal now), are only the more apparent consequences of this change, the most disastrous being the fact that modern women everywhere have ceased to give birth to a generation of great sons.

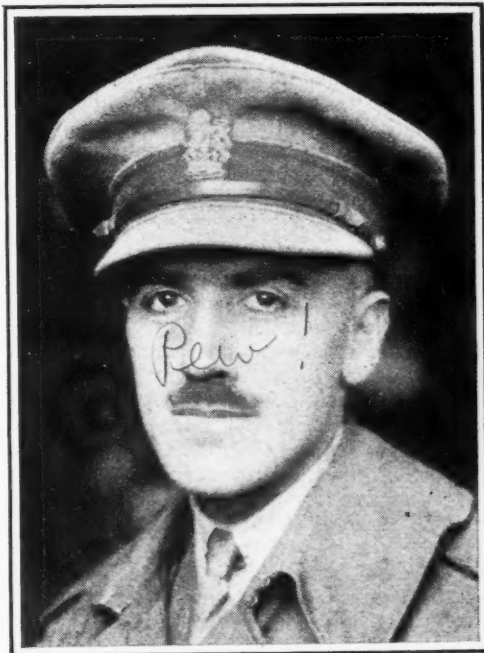
(b) *A development of her capacity for sublimating physical and spiritual impulses by other than religious means*. The New Woman finds that the pleasure she derives from constant entertainment and her bread-winning activities leaves behind it a feeling

of dissatisfaction, which she tries to relieve. Since her rationalism often denies her the solace of religion, she turns with increased avidity to the expedient of vicarious experience. This consists in reading romantic literature (chiefly novels) about women who undergo what she wishes she could undergo but does not. A sign of this development is the extraordinary output of fictional literature, and the fact that those who demand it are chiefly women. As, however, a neurotic solution of this kind must amount to a fantastic escape from reality, there is a tendency, both in the novels and those who read them, to hold a view of life which is unrealistic and false and which makes the modern woman a much more romantic creature than her "less practical" sister of a century ago. The increase in divorces is one of the signs of this romanticism.

(c) Through their improved economic resources and lack of traditions in money control, as also through their increased freedom, *women have also acquired a pronounced accentuation of the hedonistic impulses*, which, however, as we have seen, does not necessarily lead to happiness. I have already discussed the evidence of this in the section on man.

(d) *An accentuation of the masculine elements in her spiritual make-up*, while the feminine elements become more and more recessive. Thus the paradox is reached that for women Feminism really spells Masculinism. Exposure to the vicissitudes and asperities of the struggle for existence brings out the combative, predatory and latent male side of female nature and represses and impoverishes its dependent, peace-loving and sequacious side.

The chief pathological results affect women. There is only one of importance affecting men and that is the continuous selection now operating in favor of men of inferior attractiveness. Owing to the presence of attractive girls wherever he works, pronounced instincts and sensitiveness are an obstacle rather than a means of advancement to the young man. That man succeeds best and is most trusted who can most easily resist the constant stimulus of feminine attractions or most certainly repel the female. Thus in all businesses, industries and public offices selection is now operating in favor of the more or less unattractive male at the cost of men more vigorously endowed and more naturally alluring. Any other conditions would make modern business impossible. The pathological results, as they affect women, are:



ANTHONY M. LUDOVICI

(a) *Abnormal growth of the adolescent.* Owing to the masculine aspirations of Feminism the process of assimilation to the male is made to start early. In girls' schools, even in the latter part of the last century, girls were already being treated as boys. Not only were they given the male's intellectual curriculum, which, according to many authorities (Dr. Stratz of Amsterdam, Dr. Menge of Heidelberg, Dr. Sellheim of Tübingen, Arabella Kenealy and others) placed a too heavy strain on their constitution, but they were also drilled and taught rough games and exercises. In the last thirty years these methods have been intensified, with the result that much harm is being done to the female adolescent. The exorbitant demands made on young bones and muscles by boyish athleticism lead to a premature ossification of the pelvic structure and to morbid rigidity in the pelvic and upper femoral regions in the adult. Darwin pointed out sixty years ago that sailors have smaller hip measurements than soldiers, the former from early youth having more violent bodily exertions than the latter. Thus does early muscular strain become compensated in a sex in which pelvic development is not vital. Dr. Gaillard Thomas pointed out some years ago that only 40 per cent. of American

women proper were physically fitted to become mothers, and the late Stanley Hall (in *Adolescence*) has published a mass of statistics to show the alarming unfitness of Anglo-Saxon women for maternity. Professor G. L. Englemann and other eminent gynecologists in various countries confirm this view. Sterility or agonizing confinements are the inevitable outcome of these conditions and are the price paid for the refusal to recognize a radical difference between male and female.

(b) *Increase of cancer and other diseases.* The modern woman who insists on luxury, on the one hand, and on freedom, on the other, limits her family, when she marries, to one or two or has no children at all, and frequently refuses to breast feed even those she does have. Now there appears to be no doubt that ailments peculiar to women are more common in spinsters, sterile women, or women who have had long spells of unfruitfulness in wedlock or have failed to suckle, as shown in the works of leading British, French and German medical authorities. Thus Birth Control and the decline of breast-feeding which characterized French Feminism of the seventeenth century and which, through the New Woman's revolt against the female's burdens (see Paul Bureau: *L'Indiscipline des Mœurs*, pp. 161-163), have also characterized modern Feminism, are probably leading to many disorders, some of which have been definitely traced to the abnormal conditions now prevailing and others which will also in time probably be traced to the same cause.

(c) Owing to the increasing neglect of domestic interests and pursuits among women, food conditions and the state of food preparation in most countries where Feminism has prevailed are notoriously bad and are growing steadily worse. The art of cooking gradually becomes a fool's game and in its place there appear innumerable patent and proprietary products, the preparation of which demands no skill and no trouble. These products are but poor substitutes for the natural foods of our ancestors, but as they leave the women ample leisure in which to gad about or else to earn money outside the home, no one complains. Quick soup and gravy makers, pudding and cake powders, tinned foods of every description (ready for consumption), custards, porridges and jellies that require only the addition of water, and a multitude of commercial jams and other preserves, now replace, though they do not equal, the

preparations of former times. There is no doubt that the health of the various nations is suffering from them. This is particularly true of England, as in this country the bad feeding merely confirms in the adult the evil effects of bottle-feeding in infancy. Evidence of this is to be found in the feverish interest now prevailing in all Feminist countries regarding the illnesses due to bad dieting and the means of dealing with the evil.

The social results are too manifold to be enumerated in detail, but the chief are:

(a) *A marked increase in luxurious tastes in every class.* Never before in the history of the world have sumptuary laws been more urgently needed than they are today. Everything—health, progeny, normal feeding and functioning—is sacrificed to clothes, entertainment, motor cars and "pleasure." By being free, that is to say, emancipated from home ties, and, if married, from maternal ties, the modern woman is like a *nouveau riche*, tasting expensive idleness for the first time. The consequence is that luxury and excitement are the order of the day. The large streets of big cities are now but a succession of drapery palaces, competing for the custom of crowds of women who spend more on their clothes than their grandmothers spent on their whole keep, and extravagance and display are the vices of every class of the nation. Those who can ill afford display, whether in cars or clothes, stint themselves in essentials in order to be in the swim. And as almost all women smoke nowadays, there is no end to the expenses that have to be met before essentials are thought of. (Typical signs of the times are the huge profits of drapery stores, the dramatic rise in tobacco shares and in shares in other luxury articles).

(b) *Increased freedom in irregular relationships.* Owing to the spread of the knowledge of Birth Control methods, there is undoubtedly among young people an enormous amount of laxity which never comes to light. Occasionally a suicide or a murder reveals the past history of such a relationship, but even more rarely now do certain other consequences do so. It is probable that much of the cynicism and insouciance of modern young women, which make the present age an extraordinarily brutal one, is due more to such experiences than to the love element of human relations. See innumerable novels and plays which are supposed to portray the modern girl.

(c) *A tendency for politics to become*



Whistler's painting, "The Little White Girl: Symphony in White Number 2," exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, in 1865. Here again an artist's psychological insight is shown in a conception of girlhood that is challenged by the young woman of today. (Reproduced from *The Works of James McNeill Whistler*, by Elizabeth Luther Cary. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co.)

a matter of extremes and ever more a matter of emotion. It is perhaps a little early to appreciate the effect of female suffrage, and, as for female members of Parliament, they have been so few that their influence is hardly noticeable. As regards the women M. Ps., however, this much is clear, that as most of them hitherto have been old or past middle age, the little influence they have had has been Puritanical and

hostile to men. It may be that the recent political tendency to exclude the middle and to concentrate on the two extremes, Conservatism and Labor, may be due in some part to the influence of the women voters and to the kind of appeal which they can best appreciate. It is conceivable that an untutored electorate, or at any rate an electorate new to its work, would incline to recognize only sharp and rude distinctions. The way in which British politics has now become almost a duel between the Labor and Conservative interests, without any attempt being made either in the press or elsewhere to make a more moderate appeal, might thus feasibly be interpreted as partly the consequence of female suffrage. Be this as it may, there appears to be no doubt whatever that politics is now becoming more and more emotional. The inherent vice of democratic control has always been that it ultimately degrades politics into a science of emotional appeal through the instrumentality of demagogues. Since the advent of the woman voter, who is hardly equipped for anything beyond an emotional orientation in the political world, there can be no doubt that there has been a sharp accentuation of the emotional element in politics. This has been

reflected even in the House of Commons itself, where debates have become more and more rowdy; at elections it comes to the fore in the increased bitterness of the antagonism and the more fantastic nature of the promises made by the candidates. A recent example of this was the election of young Oswald Moseley at Smethwick, commenting on which *The London Times* said, "personalities played a bigger part than politics."

The Highway to Woman's Happiness

By MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE

AUTHOR OF *The Workingman's Wife, Home Making, Does Prohibition Work?* AND OTHER WORKS

WHAT a drag on progress is the myth of the Golden Age! What an incubus is the memory of something that never happened! Within the past few months there have appeared in a number of important magazines articles purporting to prove that feminism has broken down and with it the civilization in which it is set. The reactionaries of both sexes who have set their hands to these theses are like boys on Halloween changing road signs so that the main highway is marked "no thoroughfare" or "detour." Somebody has got to set the signs straight again.

Among those who have taken part in the discussion is Mme. Gina Lombroso Ferrero. Under the title, "Feminism Destructive of Woman's Happiness," she published in the January CURRENT HISTORY an article which deserves a place in an archeological museum, not only for the beauty and clarity of its style but because it is a perfect "period piece," with a point of view that belongs unquestionably to the time of Good Queen Charlotte, when Fanny Burney wrote *Evelina*. It is incredible to find such a specimen intact today. As a collector of antiques I am delighted to have that article in my possession, but as a traveler with the rest of the race on the main highway, I feel that such a misleading sign should be removed.

Does Feminism destroy woman's happiness? It depends upon what one understands by Feminism and by happiness, on how good one's listening post is and how acute an interpreter one may happen to be. Mme. Ferrero says: "There is one point in common between all the feminist movements in all countries—the demand for woman of all the rights possessed by man, the determined effort to bring woman to the enjoyment of all privileges enjoyed by man, on the understanding that in this way woman will enjoy all pleasures she formerly enjoyed as well as those which only man enjoys." Of woman's happiness she says: "Love is the fixed, unchangeable aspiration of woman. Love is the glowing sun in her heaven—not love in the vulgar and sensual form of physical attraction but as conceived by woman, having some one

to think of and who thinks of her, some one to devote herself to and who devotes himself to her, as in the case of a mother and her child. Let woman make this her aim and it will appease her longings better than freedom, independence, the franchise, wealth, power or glory."

Are either of these definitions true in America today? I should like to submit in all humbleness that Feminism for us is something quite different. Woman's staggering recovery from the jarring crash that came in the last century, when the steam engine hitched itself up with the coal mines of England and shunted manufacture out of the home, is not yet complete. The spinning wheel in its late-lamented flight to the factory knocked woman's inherited seat from under her. It is the hunt for a new resting place, for a new job; the adjustment to the new conditions it imposes; the new training it requires; the different physical demands that new work makes, including a new way of dressing to suit the new purpose for which the clothes are worn; the necessary change of mind toward work, oneself, men, marriage, children, government, money, morals and the life everlasting, that make up Feminism today. For woman is making a terrific effort to readjust herself to a new stage of society that arrived in her world with no forerunner to make straight its path—the Industrial Age left as a squalling foundling on her doorstep. Science says that every organism is conditioned by the way it gets its living. The female half of the human race, since it gets its living in a new way, is under the painful necessity of being reconditioned. The reconditioning process is Feminism.

In the matter of what happiness is I should like also to file objections to Mme. Ferrero's dictum. I do not believe that woman's heaven is, or ever was, illumined exclusively by the single glowing sun of love. Her firmament is more like the sky of Saturn with its nine moons and three concentric rings, big and little luminaries of different degrees of brightness and warmth. Of course this is my opinion against Mme. Ferrero's, but supported by Webster's Dictionary, on the one hand, and

by the observation of a not inconsiderable circle of acquaintances, on the other, I feel justified in suggesting that woman's happiness is of many kinds and drawn from many sources, and that in proportion as these sources are many and accessible her happiness is great. Consider, for instance, that happiness which comes from the exercise of wide interest. Five senses, innumerable instincts, triumphs, interests, adventures, great group passions like war or the adoration of a hero, the ecstasy of creating beauty, the joy of invention and discovery, a field of exploration opening moment by moment—is there no sun in woman's heaven but the sun of love?

When quite extraneous things are mistaken for happiness, content, for instance, the issue of course is absurd. Mme. Ferrero, after enumerating the lines along which Feminism has won what it has striven for, quotes an Italian proverb, "He who is contented does not move," and then proceeds quite incontrovertibly: "Hence, it does not seem to me rash to conclude from this agitation that, despite these victories, woman is not contented, rather that she is less contented than before, when she indulged in no agitation whatever." Is woman, then, so low in the scale of sensation that she may be suspected of content? Only if one has no unsatisfied desires can that accusation possibly be deserved—the clam perhaps when the ooze it sucks is sufficiently rich to make it fat, the robin when angleworms come out after the rain, the cornfields when the Missouri bottoms are eight feet deep in humus. "Contented people," said Will Durant recently, "are usually those who adopt without question the manners, customs, morals and grammar of their group, becoming indistinguishable molecules in the social mass and sinking into a restful peace of self-surrender that rivals the lassitude of love." There evidently is the logic of Mme. Ferrero's position—content is in effect the lassitude of love, and love alone is happiness. And Mme. Ferrero is right if content is happiness. The Feminist of today has it not, nor did her grandmother before her.

Mme. Ferrero also confuses the power to endure with happiness even when there is no reason for endurance. She applies this particularly to such things as the increase in the divorce rate. But why should any one mistake endurance for happiness in the matter of husbands? Why is not the increase in divorce an evidence of enjoyment rather than a symptom of suffering? Among women who are not so helpless as

they were divorce may indicate either happiness or pain according to circumstances.

It is the sum of these misapprehensions which leads us directly back to the mythical Golden Age. "In the Middle Ages, with their fixity of classes and sexes," says Mme. Ferrero, "with their need of economy, with their narrow limits, restricting intellectual and sensual pleasures, woman, whose pleasures are essentially moral and spiritual, whose aspirations are fixed, whose need for abstraction is negligible, was favored by exterior conditions; and man, whose aspirations are essentially material and intellectual, was sacrificed. Today * * * the situation is reversed; man can expand freely and woman is sacrificed. That is to say, man has undoubtedly derived pleasure from these changed exterior conditions and woman has suffered."

It would seem to be either the lack of an adequate historic background or some strange persistence of the aristocratic ideal that produces this particular myopia. The rigid class divisions of the Middle Ages could only have conduced to the happiness of those women in the community who were discriminated for instead of against. This was a relatively small proportion. Social fixity can hardly be acceptable to those who know themselves at a disadvantage, unless, of course, recognized inferiority is



MARTHA BENSLEY BRUERE

a joy in itself. As for moral and spiritual pleasures, well, there were women in convents certainly, but I take it that Mme. Ferrero refers to the authenticated wives and mothers of the upper circles. Having no first-hand information of the Middle Ages, I rely on written accounts that have come down to us. It is some time since I read Chaucer or Boccaccio, but I do not remember that the pleasures of the privileged classes as there shown measure up to modern conceptions of either spirituality or morals.

As a parallel to mistaking content, endurance and fixity for happiness, there is the mistake of confusing agitation, change and effort with suffering. Most modern women who are in possession of a fair education and even a little leisure have had their part in some of the many campaigns, political, reform, industrial, patriotic, that have swept the country. If there has been an outstanding characteristic of the women engaged in this work, it is their obvious, almost blatant, delight. Misery does not sit on their brows to any observable extent, and if there are tears in their eyes they are not tears of suffering. In fact, the joy of agitation is so great that one almost resents attainment. It is quite obvious that woman's continued protests are no proof of misery; rather they are evidence of a life-giving discontent.

The most startling declaration made by Mme. Ferrero is that the real but unacknowledged object of Feminism is to make man give woman the love that is beyond traditions or virtue or the mere delight of the senses, and that this is unattainable and impossible. It is in search of this, however, that woman invades man's sphere and approaches him as a courtesan, and it is because she has failed that she is sad and alone. Mme. Ferrero believes that this has happened because woman has stepped out of the sphere to which Nature has assigned her. How could she? It is an age-old misunderstanding that makes us attempt to get Nature, that great fumbling process, into the anthropomorphic plane where we see her as a vast, scantily draped, full-fashioned female seated at a desk busily budgeting, pigeon-holing, motion-studying and efficiently directing the personal department of the universe. In this quite gratuitous personification we are apt to assume that Nature never repeals an amendment. But consider the fact that the sphere of the bird is derived from that of its ancestor, the dinosaur; that the wisteria, the locust tree and the sweet pea

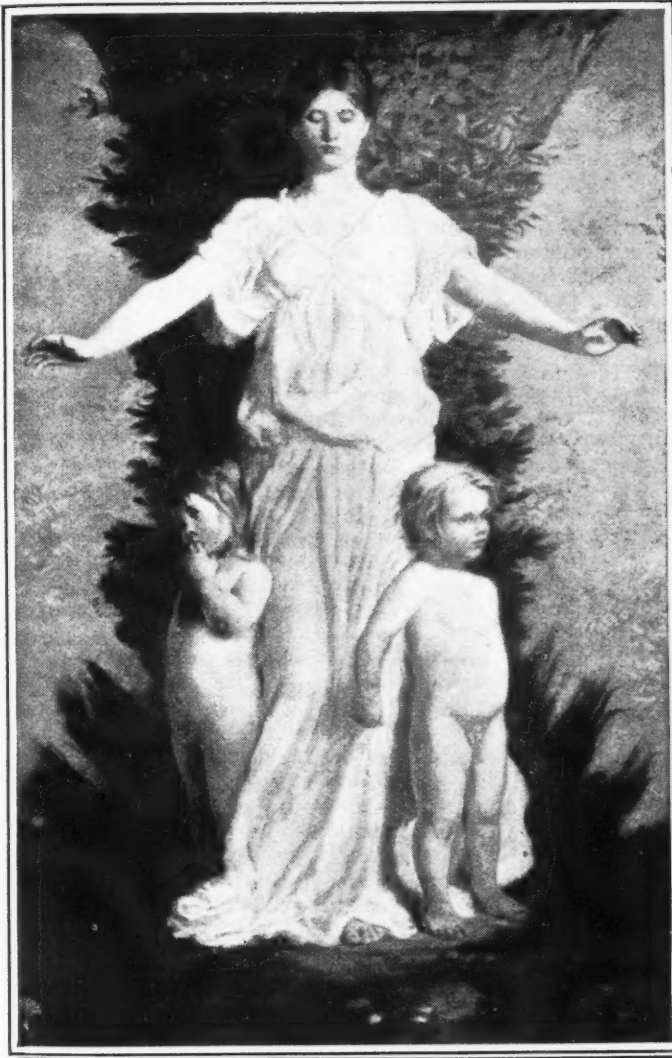
have each chosen different environments from those of their common grandfather; that what was once the outer coating of a free-swimming gastrula is now the brain stuff which when acclimatized within the human skull can grasp the Einstein theory.

Nature passes her creatures on from stage to stage and keeps to only a few rigid fundamentals. Among them is sex. Woman's only inalienable sphere is that of a human female. It is only the poetically inaccurate who see her permanent sphere in the temporary adjustment of her sex characteristics to the stage of civilization in which she happens to be living. In the stage out of which we are emerging and to which Mme. Ferrero believes we should return woman's sphere included protection, support and housework. Without these will she be unhappy? There are not many women who grieve at the substitution of an adequate police force for the strong sword arm of their protecting husbands, especially when there are so few sword arms of undisputed potency. Modern women meet the accident of being supported with apology as often as with joy and pride. As for the suffering which results from the loss of home work, female pride no longer centres in the patchwork quilt nor woman's ecstasy in the perfect pie crust, and yet our sphere is the sphere of the human female still.

It is suggested that Feminism is projecting us into the affairs of life to which we are not adapted. If it is, we shall be projected out of them quickly enough. Have we not already been projected out of the heavier machine work, off the railroads, out of the mines, and away from many other spots into which we had wilfully strayed? The getting into them and getting out again has not dimmed our happiness as a sex.

It has been charged that Feminism has developed in us new codes of morality. I hope that is true. Those of our earlier stages were extremely narrow. Formerly sin was to us a purely personal matter, usually a sex transgression, to be atoned for individually; whereas, the great community immoralities, public corruption, class oppression, ignorance and exploitation, concerned us very little. The new code now developing includes virtues and vices quite unconnected with monogamy.

The modern Feminist is accused of stimulating her natural sex appeal by her fashion in dress. Of course! Woman always has, and there is no evidence of any change in feminine intent. The well-born, well-bred ladies of the '90s bared their shoulders in the ballroom and dragged their skirts on



"Charity," the well-known picture in the Boston Museum, by Abbott H. Thayer, who was born in Boston in 1849, is considered an unusually fine expression of what has always been regarded as one of woman's most important activities both in public and in private life

the streets; we have discarded their corsets and acknowledged our legs up to the knee, while freely admitting our general shape. But is there virtue only in concealment?

The reaction against this present sorrowful state, Mme. Ferrero says, is at hand and will begin in America, where Feminism has been most successful. That backward march is going to be a great thing to watch, similar in effect to a series of landslides. May I find a safe seat! One of the first backward steps will be the

return of women—all women—to the home and their concentration on those occupations in which lies their real content—chiefly love and spiritual aspiration. This will be a little hard on such things as the telephone system, the teaching profession and other activities which have been largely in women's hands, but the steel mills and the railroads and all the other work that has been done by men will be under the most painful necessity of continuing at an accelerated pace, for every man will be spurred on by a host of loving dependents, all needing to be fed!

If, in the interests of our happiness, we shout "Back to the Middle Ages!" and institute a fight on the present mechanical age, as Mme. Ferrero feels we should have done long ago, is there any reason to believe that we shall not win against it as easily as we won the vote? If we succeed, and steam and electricity and prosperity and education and the democracy which they made possible, all vanish, men will perforce return to their medieval state of suffering, and a few women will be happy. But—and this is a disconcerting thought—if our greatest happiness is in making man happy, and if in those golden days of the Middle Ages he was miserable,

shall we recapture our own lost happiness, if we return him to a state of suffering? It is, of course, a painful alternative to endure our present pain or force a retreat to the stage where we suffer through the agony of the men we love. And since it is a question which road will get us on most happily, the "detour" sign which Mme. Ferrero has posted on the great highway should be taken down and in its place should go up the familiar legend "Road under construction; pass at your own risk."

Evils of Woman's Revolt Against the Old Standards

By HUGH L. McMENAMIN

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WHAT is woman's place in the social order? Is the modern woman, the so-called "New Woman," filling that place with credit? What may society justly demand from her? Is she supplying that demand?

A study of man reveals the fact that when God created men and women He made them the complements of each other, one supplying what the other lacked, mutually dependent, but both forming a perfect whole. That same study reveals the spiritual equality and the physical inequality of the sexes. It reveals that, while to man has been assigned the aggressive, progressive and governing power in the world, to woman has been assigned the conservative and refining power. Hers is the social and aristocratic influence, and following her divinely given impulse she shrinks from conflict, but entwining her affections around those she loves with tender devotion, she has filled the world with homes, the foundation stones upon which rests our present civilization. She has filled it with sweet and tender recollections, with elevated sentiments and religious impulse. She has been the friend, the companion, the affectionate counselor of man in every Christian age.

That same study reveals to me that woman is dependent upon her warrior husband for sustenance, and God and Christianity are averse to subjecting her to the brutalizing influence of competition with man. She is physically and temperamentally handicapped, and the result will be an injury to the race. It reveals to me that man shall rule over woman. "He shall rule over thee," was decreed not by man but by man's Creator, and before the Christian era, in pagan lands, man perverted that decree by making woman his slave. But with the passing of the centuries and the injunction, "Husbands, love your wives," there was born in the heart of man that love for woman which made her his companion—not his slave—that tenderness that threw the protection of his strong right arm around her frailer figure, that chivalry which caused him to stand aside and

let a Titanic carry him to a watery grave while she rowed on to safety, that admiration, respect and esteem which placed her on a pedestal, before which he comes to learn lessons of culture, refinement and morality. For what reason, think you, did God give her those finer sensibilities, that higher moral tone, those loftier ideals, those gentle aspirations, if it be not that she should set the standard after which we should shape our conduct? We have the right to demand it from her. She has a duty to fulfill the demand.

While I write, two events are taking place near me, both of them indicative of the trend of thought that is developing the "new woman." In Colorado Springs a national "Equal Rights for Women" convention is in session; here in Denver a newspaper is conducting a "bathing beauty contest." In Colorado Springs a group of women are confusing an equality of rights with an equality or identity of duties and privileges. If woman is ever emancipated from the protecting care of man; if she insists upon being man's competitor; if she disregards the limitations of sex and claims the right to do all that man may do with equal propriety; if, in a word, she descends to man's plane and is considered merely as a rival, then it will not be long until the theory of companionship will be discarded and women will relapse into the pagan condition of servitude, for when woman forfeits the right to be ruled by the tender rod of love and guardianship, then will she be ruled by the iron rod of tyranny. Agitation, human legislation and modern paganism may attempt to place the sexes on the same political, commercial and social platform, but it never can. Sex limitations forbid it.

We have defined woman's place in the social order. Is the so-called "New Woman" filling that place with credit and is she supplying society's just demands? Let us see. We hear a great deal in these days about the "double standard." It is undoubtedly true that a great many are influenced, led on perhaps unconsciously, by the sophism and false principles of the

age which condones immorality in man and makes mere respectability his code of morals, but holds aloft to woman the sacred laws of God; which judges the enormity of the sin by the sex of the transgressor, as if forsooth sin had sex. Now, while we abhor such a condition of affairs, we breathe a prayer that the "double standard" remain, for, if it should be changed by the woman of the present generation, it will not be by lifting man to her standard, but by her descent to his. The tendency is downward, not upward. The "New Woman" has neither the influence nor the inclination to lift man up. She has forgotten that she has been fashioned by God and nature to be the refining influence in the world and that her standard of life and conduct should be such that there will always be something for man to strive for and to imitate.

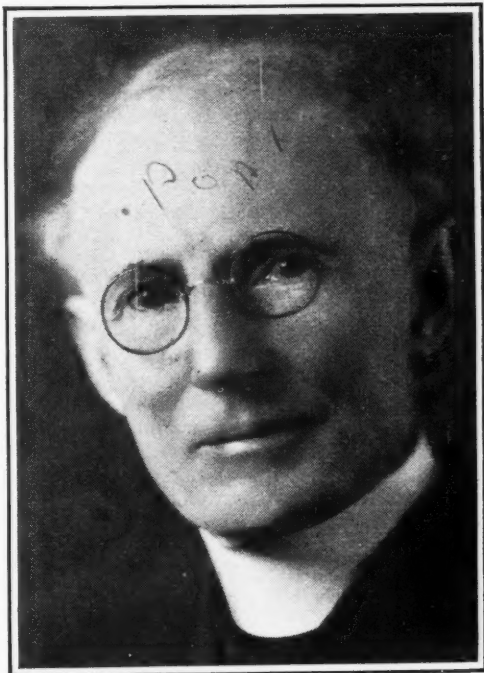
Look about you. The theatre, the magazine, the current fiction, the ball room, the night clubs and the joy-rides—all give evidence of an ever-increasing disregard for even the rudiments of decency in dress, deportment, conventions and conduct. Little by little the bars have been lowered, leaving out the few influences that held society in restraint. One need be neither prude nor puritan to feel that something is passing in the hearts and in the minds of the women of today that is leaving them cold and unwomanly. I know it is said that if a man may indulge freely in alcohol so may she; if he may witness prize-fights so may she; if he may harangue a crowd from a corner soap box so may she; if he may go about half naked so may she. But the moment she does so she has stepped down from the pedestal before which man was accustomed to worship and he is left without an ideal.

There are many who would have us believe that she does not differ from her mother or her grandmother. It is significant that she is on the defensive, for she does not claim to be better. We may try to deceive ourselves and close our eyes to the prevailing flapper conduct. We may call boldness greater self-reliance, brazenness greater self-assertion, license greater freedom and try to pardon immodesty in dress by calling it style and fashion, but the fact remains that deep down in our hearts we feel a sense of shame and pity.

When women can gaze upon and indulge in the voluptuous dance of the hour; when young girls can sit beside their youthful escorts and listen to the suggestive drama of the day and blush not; when they spend

their idle hours absorbed in sex-saturated fiction; when women, both married and single, find their recreation in drinking and petting parties; when mothers clothe their daughters in a manner that exposes their physical charms to the voluptuous gaze of every passing libertine; when they can enter the contract of marriage with the avowed purpose of having no children; then surely the "New Woman" is different, and it is a libel on the generation that has gone to hold the contrary. In the words of a prominent churchman, "If this be the 'New Woman,' then God spare us from any further development of the abnormal creature."

The "New Woman" has not yet reverted to the pagan practice of deifying the vices. She does not yet call them virtues; but how far has she not departed from the standards of twenty-five or fifty years ago, from that innate modesty, that reserve, that sense of delicacy which must ever be an essential characteristic of female excellence? In that other day woman retained at least a sense of shame, and though they fell, they found themselves ultimately on their knees sobbing out their broken-heartedness. The "New Woman" has no sense of shame and she endeavors



REV. HUGH L. McMENAMY

to save her self-respect by putting a halo on her wickedness. She attempts to hide her sordidness under fine phrases—"Art for art's sake," "To the pure all things are pure," "*Honî soit qui mal y pense*" ("Evil to him who evil thinks"), and the like. Having delivered herself of these platitudes, she proceeds to wallow in the turpitude of vice and then attempts to convince the world that it is the artistic, the beautiful, the esthetic in the play, the film, the dance, the dress, and not their vile suggestiveness that attract, but she succeeds in deceiving neither herself nor us.

The public sense of decency has been so perverted that spectacles like *The Black Crook*, to which a few degenerates crept in shame a half century ago, are models of decency compared to those to which mothers take their sons and daughters today. We have now reached the condition that finds our modern sociologist condoning crime and endeavoring to give it respectability by the simple expedient of legalizing it and by teaching that "codes in morals are as changeable as style in dress"; that "sin, so-called, is but the tyranny of society." Witness the "companionate marriage" discussion and its necessary adjunct instruction in the use of contraceptives. Note their logic. Our modern sociologist observes a growing laxity in morals and an increased freedom between the sexes—a laxity which society frowns upon and a freedom which oftentimes creates an embarrassing condition for the woman. But instead of bending his efforts to correct the laxity and curtail the freedom, our modern sociologist attempts to give the condition respectability by calling concubinage by a new name and prevent the possible embarrassment by teaching the use of contraceptives. Similarly, our modern sociologist observes that not a few married couples, unwilling to make the mutual sacrifice necessary for the permanence of any marriage, become dissatisfied and separate, and thus deprive their children of a home. So our modern sociologist conceives of a union in which there will be no children until the couple discover that they are going to be happy together, forgetting that it is impossible for any couple to endure the intimacy of married life without the bond of a babe. Ninety per cent. of the divorces granted in the City of Denver last year were granted to childless couples.

The fact that the most enthusiastic exponent of this new attack upon decency is the "New Woman" reveals her distorted nature at its very worst. Men will not turn to such for inspiration.

"BATHING BEAUTY" CRAZE

Witness the second event I referred to—the "bathing beauty contest." This contest will have been held before this article is in print. Nine out of ten of the "beauties" have never touched water deeper than that in their bath tubs. They are to be assembled in a public park, in the scantiest of attire, and will be exhibited on a platform to the gaze of the assembled libertines of the city. Denver has an annual stock show; I see no reason why the exhibitions should not be joined. This "bathing beauty" craze, together with present-day ballroom and street attire, reveals a dominant characteristic of the "New Woman." She would attract by the lure of her person rather than her personality, and men are accepting her at her own valuation—"Only a rag and a bone and a hank of hair." Evidently the "New Woman" is not supplying the demand that society has the right to make of her. She is not a refining influence.

Modern economic conditions, with the mania for speedy profits, have been a powerful factor in producing the "New Woman," inasmuch as they have dragged her into the commercial world and made her economically independent. It is quite impossible for a woman to engage successfully in business and politics and at the same time create a happy home. A woman cannot be a mother and a typist at the same time, and unfortunately she elects to be merely a wife, and out of that condition have arisen those temples of race suicide—our modern apartment houses—and the consequent grinding of the divorce mills.

Modern conditions have made woman more independent, if you will, but that independence is not benefiting the race. The woman who goes off to work with her husband each morning and returns in the evening to keep house for him has assumed a burden too hard to carry and one that will make it impossible for her to make him happy. In addition to that, such an arrangement forces them into an unnatural, childless union which is disastrous to them and to the race.



Woman's Morality in Transition

By JOSEPH COLLINS

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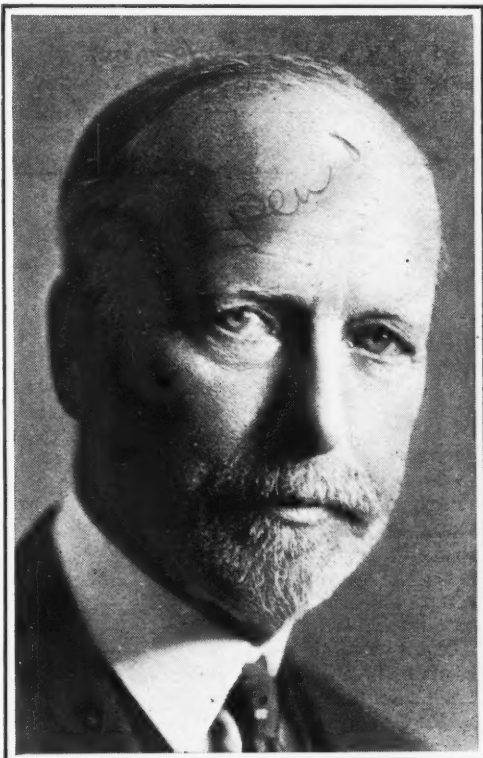
PROPHECY is an essential part of the physician's art. In practice it is called prognosis—forecasting what the future has in store for the patient. Habituated to making such estimates, he is tempted to try his hand in other fields. Hence, I am easily persuaded to say what is likely to be the result of the advent and activities of the New Woman; what the effects of the dissemination of the ideas and conceptions for which she is held responsible will be on morals, manners, marriage and man. The expert in prognosis must have large and varied experience. The person who ventures to outline the future activities of the New Woman must be an observer of the present and a student of the past, a sympathizer with women, familiar with their psychology.

Though it may not be generally admitted that the New Woman exists, no one is so obdurate as to maintain that woman is the image of man and not the image of God, or to deny that she has wrested from unwilling man the privileges that he arrogated to himself. By ways and means which are neither clear nor obvious, she has won a bloodless victory of independence for her sex and a measure of freedom which assures her equality with man in the great things of life. Now she has a secure place in the sunlight. It has not come about

gradually and insensibly, but overnight, as it were, in the span of one generation.

The acceptance of the new ideal for woman had its birth with the century. Man and his institutions, secular and civil, have

striven from time immemorial to enslave woman; that is, to deny her the rights and privileges to which she was entitled. While doing it he has indulged himself in what is known in psychology as rationalization, which means giving rich reasons for poor motives. He has claimed that she was a clinging vine that needed support, protection and pruning; that she was modest and tender-minded; that her intellect was dominated and directed by her emotions; in short, that she was a child in everything save body; that she was to be cajoled, coerced, caressed, conquered, trimmed, disciplined and corrected just as children are. She was to do what she was told when she was



Wide World

DR. JOSEPH COLLINS

told. Sometimes she did, but more often she pretended. Hence her reputation for mendacity, intuitiveness and resourcefulness. She might look upon ripe, succulent, gustatory fruit, but she was not permitted to pluck or eat it save when man said she could. His passion for standardization was first vented upon woman. He standardized her morals and her manners, her activities and her aspirations, her indul-



The two figures at the left represent women's fashions between 1848 and 1860; the two at the right those between 1860 and 1864

gences and inhibitions. He never made a greater failure in anything he ever undertook. He was bound to fail, for he started by affronting the Science of Life.

Man and woman are identical in their origin, genesis and destiny. They have one purpose—to reproduce their kind. Subduing the earth is incidental and contributory, that their descendants may have a propitious and pleasant place in which to propagate. To promote this purpose man secretes one specific element, woman the other. All other differences are minor and inconsequential. The soil is more important than the seed. Hazard or a comet may bring seed, but if soil is lacking sterility will prevail. Woman is the soil, man the seed. Man's attitude of mastery toward woman is the best example of inferiority complex that exists. Woman is far from satisfactory, but the hiatuses of her mind, the indentations of her emotions, the intermittences of her heart are the result of the artificializing procedure to which man has subjected her with few spasmodic interruptions since the beginning of time. And now it is a thing of the past.

Woman has obtained her freedom. What is she going to do with it? It is too much to expect she will use it wisely and prudently. If she can learn by experience, one day she will have wisdom. Of one thing we may be sure, she will not be willing to be the mirror of man, his servant, his slave or his shadow, save when she is in the

throes of love. The transitoriness of passionate love is known to all save youth. Transmuted into affection, admiration and respect, it becomes the most inexhaustible source of the effects, the most indestructible building material of happiness, the Staff of Life second only to bread.

"New Woman" is an infelicitous designation. There is, of course, no such thing. Woman has forced the bars of her cage, cast the manacles off her ankles, shed the artificial skin in which she was encased and immobilized. She is the same today as she was in the days of Ruth and Esther, Penelope and Nausica, Ninon de l'Enclos and Charlotte Corday. She knows the same weaknesses and desires, has the same intellectual equipment and the same emotional reactions. For countless centuries she has been told that she has qualities that she does not have; that she likes things for which she has an unconscious abhorrence; that she has anatomical and physiological limitations that seriously handicap her in the race of life.

The World War came. Her life was pulled from its hinges with a jerk, and for five disintegrating years she had to adjust herself to a manless world in which habit and wont were at the mercy of constantly changing conditions. She had to do many things that she had not thought herself capable of doing, because she had never been permitted to try them. She was

praised, blamed, discussed, accepted, acclaimed, rejected, but she rushed forth to accomplish a duty which was opposed to her previous monotonous routine. She found thrills, fulfillment and joy in this new life which broadened her viewpoint and made her take inventory of herself. The result is modern woman. Consciousness of her value had already been half awakened by the previous generation of mothers who had felt the stirrings of Feminism. She found in the war the field in which she could practice becoming what she thinks she has become— independent of man, a power unto herself. She has gestated new ideas and brought forth new methods of thinking and learning. She is now convinced that she has reached equality with man in so far as mental and practical achievements are concerned, and she has set out to prove it. In every field of activity she has made a splendid showing, save soldiering. The end of all wars may be in sight when women are sent to the colors and men stay home to tend domestic duties and cultivate the fields. Woman's sadistic and cruel mind will prompt her to such undreamed-of methods of torture for the enemy that people will prefer living in peace with their neighbors much rather than battling with them.

With the spread of the new ideas which make woman mentally the equal of man,

there has come a new code of morality, or rather a new distribution of moral ideas between the sexes. Woman, finding that she could assume the duties of man in the professional sphere, insists on sharing his alleged rights and long-established privileges in the moral one. In her discoveries of herself she has stumbled upon the fact that far from being what man has always asserted she was, timid, prudish and monogamous, she is bold, immodest and polyandrous. She is making short business of adapting the existing code of morality to her new interpretation of it. As a result, many women no longer consider it essential to enter matrimony in complete ignorance of what it implies of duties and pleasures. They insist upon formulating their own conception of the marriage bond and have ceased to accept its laws as man made them. Undeniably the effect is prejudicial just now for the future of the race and the lasting quality of marriage, as it was meant by the Church and as centuries have accepted it. When woman was subjected to the autocratic pleasure of her husband, and knew that by refusing her loyalty and fidelity to him she would be an object of scorn to the world—and by shirking her duties toward the race she would heap upon herself condemnation of the Church and punishment in the hereafter



At the left the two figures show women's fashions in 1879; the two at right those of a few years later



Women's dress in 1887, when the bustle was in fashion

—the future of the world was thought safe. She has changed all this, and unless the tide turns and brings woman back to her first and fundamental duty, that of bearing children, there is no prophesying the future.

It would be idle to condemn woman or even to look for harmful effect in the fact that she no longer feels herself subservient to man in marriage or out of marriage; indeed, actual observation and personal experience may serve as an acceptable selection when the time for marriage comes, and the new code of morality which proclaims that what is good for man is equally good for woman has no ill omen in itself for the future. It will become a subject for fearful apprehension should woman refuse to admit that her lot in life is fundamentally different from that of man, but the fire-like rapidity with which she has adopted modes and mannerisms which identify her with man encourages us to believe she will return just as fast to a more equilibrated medium.

The attitude toward marriage which makes divorce a common, everyday occurrence, accepted by society, quasi-recognized by the Church and condemned only by the conservative has much in its favor, and more

one will be so absorbed getting in and out of it that there will be no time or desire for procreating a family. The warning note must be given to women, but it is within themselves that they will answer it. A profession is not incompatible with marriage and children, but woman too often chooses to make it so.

Man, be he pietist, puritan or pagan, must eventually realize that woman of the future is not going to sit back supinely and observe him suck life's honeycomb. She is going to have pleasures and pastimes equivalent to his. It is likely that they will be much the same in view of the way she has taken to tobacco and alcohol during the past few years. To be cognizant of her indulgences will sometimes harass him and often humiliate him, but it will not drive him crazy. When, however, she will insist upon having the same amatory license that he grants himself then he will go off his head, be he parent, brother or husband, unless he sees things in a very different light from that in which he sees them today. In head-hiding man has the ostrich beaten "to a frazzle." He knows that he is polygamous by nature, but he tells himself and believes that woman is monogamous; he knows that pas-

in its disfavor. Society, after all, reduces itself to the family, and a family is the only justification for marriage. If it were not for children, and especially now that we are becoming more and more convinced that we make our own hell on earth, why should people want to marry when they can have the joys of matrimony with none of its onus? Thus, the creation of a new family in the bosom of the old one justifies amply the sacrifices of personal freedom and independence that marriage implies. The failure of the modern woman to recognize her duty toward the Sacrament which Paul thought preferable to burning into a jolly fair where

sion can sway him as the wind sways the reed, but he tells himself and believes that only "bad" women are equally swayable by creative instinct; he knows that the vagrant and purposeful thought of man has always been and always will be concerned with sex to a tremendous degree, but he tells himself and believes that woman has no such thoughts and that if she does she has "fallen" or is on the way; and he believes that the experience that makes him ruins woman. Man must undergo a change of heart to keep pace with woman's change of mind.

No one can have extensive and intimate contact with the rising generation of women and not know that the old code of sex morality has suffered and is still suffering profound modifications. There are many reasons for it and not one of the least is the dissemination of the doctrine and practice of birth control. Without here passing judgment upon it other than to say that in my opinion it is one of the most dangerous weapons of the age, since it tends to promote sterility of the good and fertility of the bad, it must be admitted that

it has done more to destroy purity than temptations or tests. All that which spells enlightenment has had much to do with its vogue also.

Modern women know life at the age of 18 as well as, if not infinitely better than, their mothers knew it when they had reached late maturity, borne a number of children and encountered successes and failures in quantities sufficient to temper their souls. They have definite ideas about right and wrong, pleasure and pain, morality and ethics, privileges and duties. The manner in which these ideas are developed and directed will make for good or for evil. A woman of 40 today is as young as her sister of 20. Old age has been receding in a long stride when youth forced it beyond the half century limit. This extends the period of woman's activity to a considerable degree. What she will make of it is still a question heavy with doubt, which time alone can answer.

What may be called morality in general does not seem to have been affected by the New Woman. Lying, murder, stealing, bearing false witness are held in the cus-



The capes and puffed shoulder effects that characterized women's dress in 1897



Wide World

A woman's formal afternoon costume in the style of 1927

tomary detestation. Covetousness, pride and ingratitude are possibly held in greater esteem than they were, though hell was full of the ungrateful as recently as Don Quixote's time. That the woman of the future will insist upon the modification of marriage goes almost without saying. Marriage can no longer be the Gordian Knot which none can untie, and which, being

twisted with our thread of life, nothing but the scythe of death can cut. The divorce record in all countries save those under the dominion of the Roman Catholic Church attests it. It may please the Bishop of the Episcopal Church of New York to say that trial marriage is not marriage at all, and that companionate marriage is nothing but a brazen proposal to sanction irregular relations, but dogmatic as he is there is nothing in his past performances to suggest that he is infallible. The sooner religion reconciles itself with the new ideas and the new powers the better it will be for religion and for those to whom religion is necessary, that is, to the people by and large. I cannot see that the New Woman is particularly concerned with religion, but when she becomes so, I venture to believe that she will insist that it shall absorb and assimilate the new ideas and take cognizance of the new powers.

There can be no doubt that home and family are beginning to suffer from the dissemination of New Woman ideas. Revolution inevitably entails suffering, but there has never been a revolution from which advance and good did not flow. If one believes that when woman deserts the kitchen and forsakes the nursery the future of the home and the family are imperilled, then the advent of the New Woman is a menace, for they are the foundation of the structure called Life. The solution of the matter is squarely up to women. The bearing of children is their function, their privilege and their duty. Nurturing children and bringing them up may often be entrusted to others with

greater success.

The whole question is based upon the intelligence of the individual woman. Therefore, it simmers down to a question of personality. A woman of superior intelligence who makes a success of business or profession will understand by taking thought, if she does not by instinct, that she is still the responsible member for keeping home

and family together. And she will succeed in this as well as in her self-chosen work. The woman of average intelligence is likely to combine a desire for independence with a need of man's support and affection, and she will tolerate in practice the duties against which she rebels in theory; and the woman of low intelligence is not more fitted for the job of home-maker than she is for business or trade. The future of the race seems to depend more today on quality than on quantity. It may be just as safe, perhaps more so, if it is restricted to a higher type of woman who is aware of its importance than it would be were the old rule followed that a woman who has no talent for anything in particular should be married as early as possible. It takes more talent to be a successful mother and wife than to be a competent physician.

Women do not change their natures with their names at the altar; those who are born with a need to discover wings for themselves will not be satisfied with a Ford or a Rolls-Royce. Those who have no such urge are content to walk, and walking perforce is no sign of progress.

It is a great mistake, however, to think that woman can ever be completely independent of man, no matter what she wishes to believe or have others believe. The movement of emancipation begun by women has gone too fast and too far and many have misunderstood the question. Their great aim appears to be Freedom from Man. What woman should want in reality is to be delivered from the shackles into which man has put her, her intelligence, desires, ambitions and talents. She wants to have a manner of self-expression which does not necessarily mean emulation or competition with man. She wants to be permitted to use fully whatever male attributes she may have in her make-up which give her physical strength and endurance, mental power, active energy and a desire for creation; but she cannot rid herself of the feminine qualities which are generally the superior in number and power in her constitution. The modern woman seems desirous to shed these female traits, but she acquires nothing in their stead when she goes in for manly activities without being fundamentally built for them. The result is in its gross exaggeration those hybrid creatures who have succeeded in making themselves caricatures of men without achieving anything which would redeem them or reconcile society to their existence. In its finer form we have the modern woman trim, neat, positive, self-

supporting, assured of her ability to carry on the work of her choice, at the same time wife, mother, daughter, lover. It is to her



Wide World

A one-piece dinner gown and bobbed hair in the fashion of 1927

that we look with hope and satisfaction. She is man's companion, not competitor; she has enough energy—a male characteristic—to stimulate her to worthy achievements, but she has not forsaken her feminine appeal.

The most discouraging thing about the New Woman is that she is willingly a slave to the most tyrannical of all masters, *La Mode*, whose seat of government is Paris. Let Fashion decree that she should wear her hair and skirts long, and she would run to cover like a frightened rabbit. Even if it should prescribe the red flannel underwear of our grandmothers instead of the silk of our present grandmothers, she would make prompt genuflexion. Until the New Woman denies this Master I despair of her.

The way in which woman has developed in the last twenty-five years has been so rapid in pace and breath-taking in scope that it is still too soon to pass definite judgment upon its meaning and possible consequences. It cannot surely be called a progressive change in the nature of woman, for woman has not changed fundamentally. It is more likely to be a stage of transition toward a different conception of woman's sphere in the world, a transition accompanied with exceptionally definite displays of independence and freedom. Because of

this very definite attitude woman displays toward her new conception of herself, the change in itself is not permanent; it could not be and yet be so self-assured, self-satisfied and at the same time so conscious of itself. When woman has found her real place in the world, a place which will be as different from that cherished by her grandmothers as it is from the place she is assuming now, she will no longer feel this sort of growing pains which make her seek for appeasement in every new fad and idea.

Eventually she will have to adjust herself to herself. That will be more amusing to witness than the present struggle at being something that she is not in reality, and it is safe to say that it will be more picturesque. If any one has doubts that woman is the image of God, seeing her frequently in her present-day get-up will confirm them. She is now going through a transitional stage toward a new conception of woman's sphere and she is displaying all the grotesqueness and more that children show in the awkward age. Give woman a chance to handle love properly and she will make a great contribution to life. She should not be called upon to do it alone. Man should help her. It is the only way he can make amends.



Frenchwomen's Lack of Political Progress

By MAGDALEINE MARX

A LEADING FRENCH NOVELIST

THE latest news in well-informed French political circles at the present moment is that equal suffrage rights are about to be granted! Women will share universal suffrage with men, but to begin with, only in the municipal elections.

In a country like ours this offers such brand new possibilities for women whose curious destiny it has been to reign over the kingdoms of taste, of elegance and of love, stagnating meanwhile in the sadly backward legal condition of children and idiots, that one wants to examine a little more closely the personalities of the women who are bound to lead in the new movement.

In spite of the fact that the war imposed upon the rank and file of French women an unanticipated burden of new responsibilities and duties which they showed themselves perfectly capable of handling, in spite of a marked subsequent advance in development, they are still kept in a state of political obscurantism and social inferiority. This in violent contrast to the degree of freedom attained, in thirty other countries, by 160,000,000 women. Why, why must we remain so far behind?

To understand the backwardness of France in this respect one must be familiar with the economic development of the country. One must have followed, decade by decade, the slow formation of its classes, by now so far apart from one another, so antagonistic in point of view, that it is practically impossible for French women, as a whole, to meet on any common ground. Economic conditions are at the bottom of their differences.

The bourgeoisie, on the whole, are in favor of giving women the right to vote, but because of certain prejudices I shall discuss later on they do not dare to fight for it. As for the working people, although equal suffrage is one of the planks in their political platform, they refuse to let themselves be drawn into a struggle which has suffrage for its only goal. Not that they repudiate the responsibility. Not that they are inactive. On the contrary, working women in France form the only group capable of facing political problems as a

group, but deliberately they have centred their efforts elsewhere and look with scepticism upon the timid and somewhat underhanded methods of the feminists.

Then come the peasants. But peasant women in France refuse to have anything to do with political questions. Their terrific struggle for existence, their ignorance, their determination to look out first and foremost for their own particular interests and still stronger in them perhaps their religious fanaticism, raise a fourfold barrier which entirely shuts them off from the rest of the world. One must have lived in certain sections of France, for example Brittany, the Auvergne or Perigord, to realize how deeply rooted in the attitudes of the last century religion can keep them. While the working woman who lives in a great industrial centre is frankly atheist, her sister in a humble country parish is bowing her white coiffe timidly beneath the storm of eloquence of *Monsieur le Curé* thundering from the pulpit. Here one realizes as nowhere else how completely the French peasants are under the yoke of the Catholic Church. The Church provides their only spiritual food. They see no other paper except *La Croix* (The Cross). It provides their only amusement; Sundays are divided between mass, vespers and the salutation. In certain villages in the Vendée, if a woman became so emancipated as to talk politics with other women, she would be greeted not only with maledictions but with raised pitchforks.

To return to the bourgeois woman and her difficulties. Here, seemingly, are to be found the very same ignorance and lack of political ideas. I say seemingly. The fact that French women have been told for centuries that they are supreme in grace and love has determined and still determines the literature of the country and through the literature the actions of the women themselves. Following the lead of the great writers, the public has come to believe that woman has but one rôle: to please, always to please, no other aim but love, no other responsibilities but the home and maternity.

The press, social customs, books, the the-



MAGDALEINE MARX

atres, the luxury displayed by women in superior positions, everything, gives the French woman the idea that she has nothing else to do on this earth but occupy herself with love, love, love. And each individual is so deeply imbued with this idea, it is so strongly rooted in her, it is so much a part of the flesh and blood of the people, that in our day, 1927, when the struggle for existence leaves so little real place for the art of making love, we are still at the same old point. In spite of the urgent appeals of a reality daily growing more pressing, we are trying to live according to this old myth, and unfortunate is he or she who tries to introduce into the feminine existence any interests foreign to love.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE SECRET

Ask 300 French bourgeois women what are their views on politics, 299 will make it a point to answer: "I? Political views! Do I look like an old maid or a virago? If you want the political news you will have to ask my husband, for I know nothing of politics, I am thankful to say." It is the prevailing fashion to believe that a woman must be of a shrewish disposition or else physically unfortunate and therefore despised of men if she dares to approach those problems, which are adjudged in

France the unique province of men and consequently forbidden to their sisters, wives and daughters.

In spite of the fact that French women hate to face adverse public opinion, there are so many problems which concern women clamoring to be solved that we are presented with this situation: Women are not allowed to take seats in the French Chamber of Deputies or in the Senate. Several have been elected, mostly Communists, but all have had to resign. Since, therefore, they cannot go to the front, directly, openly, publicly, they must content themselves with using their influence from a distance: a secret, occult, unreckoned influence, which is very hard to gauge. The observer who wants to find out just exactly what this amounts to in its effects upon actual political events must school himself to wait about in the wings, to catch but glimpses of the play itself and so to decipher certain trends which are clear only to the actors.

This is so true that Mme. Léon Brunschwig, President of the *Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes* (French Women's Suffrage Union), when asked if her propaganda seemed to her to be developing in harmony with modern life, said to me: "Is it possible that you should ask me this? You, who know France as well as I do, and who realize that concerted action by Frenchwomen is not to be counted upon, in fact, is practically impossible? We do not even pretend that our open propaganda accomplishes anything for us. Our little paper called *La Française* is only for the already converted; our real method must be the personal one, the individual effort which each woman makes according to her connections, her social position. As to our organization, our method is to work upon each Deputy in his own Province. We go to see him in his own house and attack him on his own ground, patiently preparing the game by the use of our personal influence; then we cleverly force his hand." Like the secret work of white ants building a chain of subterranean passages and chambers are the political doings, in such measure as they exist at all, of the bourgeois Frenchwoman.

No doubt one could go on to speak of the sometimes decisive rôle played by our modern Circes in the lives of our great statesmen and the part thus taken in national affairs by certain women, but as this belongs more to the domain of the novel than to an article dealing with a social question, let us rather try to see among the women actually to the fore now who of

them the day after tomorrow, when equal suffrage becomes a fact, will be called upon to pass from the wings to the stage, from a hidden secret plan of campaign to one of direct action.

SEVERINE'S CAREER

A woman whose life will be little changed by the new order is Severine. Among those rare intellectuals who are occupied with politics (they can be counted on the fingers of one hand) she has been fighting longest, most consistently and most courageously for her idea of justice. At first a disciple of Jules Valles, introduced by him into the career of French letters, she took as her first cause the Dreyfus affair, fighting side by side with Zola, Pressense, Basch and Monod, sharing the glory with them and being completely ostracized from society for going to the defense of Dreyfus. Her first articles, vehement and inflammatory like herself, were published in the *Cri du Peuple*, the *Gil Blas*, the *Fronde*, a paper entirely run by women. From the very beginning Severine took to journalism as a monk takes to the Carmelite or Trappist order—with the fire and mystic faith of an irresistible vocation. For almost forty years she has worked at her beloved journalism. Instead of expecting from the press the reward of a glorious career she has simply made it the voice of her heart. And what a heart!

Sixty years old now, full of a magnificent vitality, generosity and youth which shines in her clear blue eyes under her crown of snowy white hair, Severine has made her whole life an apostleship consecrated to the defense of the noblest causes and the most unfortunate public men. In a limpidity of style which has become traditional and with boldness of thought, her work combines the courage of revolt and the tenderness of a purely feminine pity. Ever since she has been able to hold a pen there is not a single paper on the Left which has not had the honor of her collaboration and has not borne her name as a flaming pledge of courage and moral rigor. In addition to being a journalist she has another profession—that of character witness, for in France well-known people are called to defend certain ideas involved in a law case, such as liberty, fraternity and equality. They are almost expert witnesses chosen according to their own reputation for integrity rather than for their knowledge of the case under consideration. And so if a man finds himself without justice from the law, hounded, betrayed in the process of

seeking restitution, Severine is called to the bar to appeal for the prisoner on grounds of human pity and kindness. There has never been a time when she has not responded to the calls of distress with which she is forever being deluged; there has hardly been an occasion when the Judges have been able to resist her poignant words, her face transfigured by her passion for truth. Member of the Executive Committee of the League of Rights of Man and an influential member of the Socialist Party, she takes part in all the mass meetings, all the struggles. She has spent herself in defending the unfortunate—even animals. And today, retired and living in a secluded cottage at Pierrefonds but still as ardent a worker, she can reckon up what her life of heroism has brought her—poverty, care, an old age devoted to the most unsympathetic labor. It is often the reward of great souls.

THE COUNTESS DE NOAILLES

Countess Anna de Noailles, *Duchesse de Brancovan*, is another sort of woman entirely. She is as peculiar, as fantastic, as deliberately the great lady as Severine is modest, simple and absorbed in all who suffer. Oriental in type (she was born in Paris of Rumanian parents), with an ex-



MADAME SEVERINE

pression at once aggressive and yet languishing, with the reflections from her long, dark, piercing eyes playing over alabaster features, a hard, bird-like profile, with an abundance of black hair crowning her head and leaving her forehead bare, the Countess has a certain feudal air which recalls other skies, other times. Her apartment in Passy, with its walls and floors of cork—the better to make the rooms silent—is indeed the ivory tower from which escape now and then brilliant poems exalting love, singing the turbulence of Spring, the anguish of death.

Reclining on a divan most of the day, her time divided between her current portrait painter, her followers and her meditations, it sometimes happens that she abandons her usual preoccupations—love, nature, death—to cast about her in the world the searching glance of a bird of prey, to sow broadcast her bacchanalian laugh of irony. Perhaps one sees her at the Chamber of Deputies, dressed in colored veils, gesticulating, attracting everybody's attention, applauding as though she were at the theatre, amusing herself as though it were the circus; or in her salon, where she likes to be surrounded by men prominent in politics, shining for them in all her glory. And indeed her entourage is dazzling. She lives



THE COUNTESS DE NOAILLES

the life of a mad, gifted creature whose work scintillates with an exotic brilliance; with the shrill voice of an exalted parakeet she scatters handfuls of bright thoughts to whoever is quick enough to pick up the sparkling treasures. Not a word that is not poetry, music, brusque epigram, lyric effusion, concise judgment, now a glimpse of a door half opening into metaphysics, now startling résumés, conclusions couched in a luminous symbolism. From these monologues which the audience drinks in like an intoxicating beverage, spring at random, one might almost say, her sympathies and antipathies, the majority of which incline toward the Left rather than toward the Right. Thus it was that she became the militant friend of Caillaux and that at Geneva she was seen effusively embracing Paul Painlevé. So, too, at important banquets, at galas and fêtes where official adulation builds her a pedestal, her most brilliant sallies and her sweetest smiles are for the delight of the politicians of the Left.

Her political ideas in so far as they are at all precise have the grandiose quality of those of Carlyle's heroes. Since her spirit is completely obsessed by the Nietzschean conception of the will to power, it is difficult to imagine her assuming in the future a direct and continuous form of work, accepting a responsible position no matter how exalted or mixing among humble mortals and vulgar realities. And, then, she has too much passion, too much a dionysiac sense of life, too torrid and devouring an imagination to be able to give herself with any success to doing instead of singing. One sees her rather lending all her Egerian charm and her warlike enthusiasm to the artistic destiny of the nation, aiding the development of literary work with her prestige as a poetess.

THE SUFFRAGE LEADER

In contrast with these two bright stars shining at opposite poles of the French firmament, Mme. Léon Brunschwig, President of the Frenchwomen's Suffrage Union, gleams rather pale.

For the reasons which I have given, and because it is conducted by timid bourgeois females haunted by the fear of losing their femininity or being otherwise compromised, the feminist movement is far from having gained the impetus in France that it has attained in America, England or the Scandinavian countries. Its leaders declare that it comprises 200 groups and numbers 70,000 women, but its propaganda strikes such a low, and one might almost say confidential,

note that the obtaining of the right to vote will be much less a victory for the movement than, simply, a present laid at the feet of backward France by this modern age. Surrounded by a staff which includes Mmes. Malaterre-Sellier, Suzanne Grinberg and Pauline Rebour, Mme. Brunschwig presides with the dignity of a noble mother, a very sure intelligence and the manner of a high-born lady over amiable social gatherings of distinguished ladies who almost all have a holy horror of politics. Their movement transcends party lines. "We want to group together women of all social classes (is it our fault if the workers remain deaf to our cry?)" says Mme. Brunschwig. "Those who follow us are mainly teachers, doctors' wives, lawyers' wives, or women of the provinces whose leisure pushes them toward our ideas. Very few young girls. Youth is content to shrug its shoulders and say: 'Yes, of course, it is very silly of them to refuse us the privileges they have granted to men.' That is all, and they go off to the dance."

As to political tendencies, Mme. Brunschwig continues: "Our best members are generally from liberal circles; since they are very rarely members of a political party it is rather difficult for me to define their political position. But one may say that they would be probably members of the Radical, Radical-Socialist or even Socialist groups. These are the parties which have given us the best support. Sometimes the wives of Conservatives come to swell our ranks, driven by the fact, no doubt, that the Duchess d'Uzès is honorary President of our Association and that the Marquise de Crussol is one of our members. Needless to add that we welcome these rare additions to our number. When we are able to vote certain of our members will undoubtedly present themselves for election to the Chamber of Deputies, for example, Mme. Malaterre-Sellier and Suzanne Grinberg. They are exceptional cases. We shall be content in general to go on as in the past, working to pass legislation of special interest to women quite without regard to party considerations—laws relative to social protection, to the rights of mothers and children, hygiene and factory work at home. There will be much to do, but it is so difficult to stir up French women! Take this as an example: When the American suffragists obtained the vote they wished to share the money left over with the women of other countries where suffrage had not yet come. They said to us: 'We are prepared to send you several thousand dollars on



MME. BRUNSCHWIG,
President of the French Woman Suffrage
Association

condition that you raise an equal amount among your supporters.' What difficulty we have had in gathering this sum! We managed to do it at last and this material aid from American women (to speak only of that) has been very precious to us."

BRILLIANT WORKER FOR PEACE

Let us leave the restricted area of the feminist movement and move into the wider circle of foreign affairs, where we shall meet one of the few women who has dared to venture into this field—Louise Weiss. Amid the interplay of alliances, treaties, national rivalries and the whirlpool of economic conflict here is one who knows how to read human nature like an open book. Moved by the sufferings of the war which she saw at first hand, having been a hospital nurse, this young woman decided ten years ago to consecrate her life to working for peace. By this she meant not simply working as a woman, in the goodness of her heart and the burning tumult of her sensitive being, but using her vast culture and knowledge, all of her energy and all the vigor of her mind. She believed that

among the sciences which have today given a somewhat forbidding atmosphere to our time one science was missing—the science of maintaining peace. To build a foundation for this work she established the weekly journal called *L'Europe Nouvelle*, and to aid in establishing a mutual acquaintanceship and understanding between nations she travels all over Europe, across the sea, always in search of facts, documents, information. Writer, journalist, lecturer, she is not only tireless in her activity but ubiquitous, one might almost say. If a delicate point arises in diplomatic relations, if a schism becomes apparent, if a new step is being ventured, you will be sure to find her there.

This large blond creature, with her dignified smile and her clear eyes, has the gift of gathering people of all parties around her and making good workers of them. There is hardly a Premier in Europe or a great political leader or a single man belonging to "the new European team" who has not contributed to her paper, just as there is hardly a distinguished foreigner, hardly an important French personality that one does not meet in her office in the Rue des Vignes. Her rôle in French politics is subordinated at present to her interest in foreign affairs. She belongs to no political party or group, and it must be said that the impartiality she gives such ample proof of, the objectivity which she imposes upon *L'Europe Nouvelle*, has relegated her instinctive liberalism to the background and her sympathy with the Left has retreated to a region where sentiment becomes flimsy and tepid.

Louise Weiss is not, properly speaking, a feminist. And she regrets it, it seems. "It is only in America," she exclaimed soon after her return to Paris, "that I was able to understand the full weight of such a movement. The strength of the women's organizations was a revelation to me. Ah, if our Senators could feel the pressure of such a terror as the women inspire over there! And if in France we had the courage to use bold methods! Suppose, for example, fifty women from different milieux all suddenly refused to pay their taxes, saying that being robbed of their privileges gave them the right to shirk their responsibilities, do you not think there would be a prompt and salutary demonstration?"

MME. DUBOST'S WORK

If there is a single woman destined to play a prominent part in domestic politics it is certainly Mme. René Dubost. Intelli-



Wide World

LOUISE WEISS,
Editor *L'Europe Nouvelle*

gent, witty, enthusiastic, and as though crowned with a vitality powerful enough to make her master herself and subordinate her charms to a discreet and subtle brilliance, extremely modern in her tastes and beliefs, there is one way in which she chooses to be of the past—that is in her dress. While the women who frequent her salon wear the universal black lace sheath or the latest jumper frock, Mme Dubost, in her Louis XIII costume with a long train and heavy pleats, her lace frill, her pointed bodice, her astonishing sleeves, or her Directoire waistcoat, is the incarnation of protest. From her heavy chignon of round curls that give to her charming face an air of old-fashioned grace down to her embroidered slippers everything seems to say to the women of today: "Do not go on making concessions; be yourselves; dare to wear what is becoming, what pleases you, and, if you are going to pretend to be emancipated, begin by refusing to be tyrannized over by the fashion." This quality is not without importance in the character of Mme. Dubost, for it is the key to all the others. As a young woman she broke with her family, who were among the aristocrats of the high industrial world—she was mar-

ried to a member of the French Stock Exchange. She dared to abandon the superficial, empty life of a woman of the world so as to consecrate herself entirely to the social problem.

Le Comité de Secours aux Enfants (Children's Relief Committee), which almost but not quite corresponds to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in America, has become under her guidance during the last four years the most important organization of its kind in Europe. By giving it an international scope and placing it above politics, religion and race, she has made it an immense charity to which millions of Russian babies during the famine owed their lives, and which has also kept alive millions of little Austrians, Germans, Armenians, Bulgarians and Japanese. Vast as such an undertaking may seem, Mme. Dubost's rôle has not been limited to the care of abandoned children. She desires more than anything else a rapprochement between the people of different nations. A member of the Socialist Party for many years, she works in the League for Interscholastic Exchange, of which she is the President, to facilitate the exchange of students between France and Germany in order to create bonds that will last a

lifetime between the youth of these countries. Then, too, she has her "village," of which she is immensely proud—a model colony which has its vacation camp, community house, popular theatre, maternity centre and women's educational centre located at Draveil.

And she has a salon—one of those in direct line from that of Julie de Lespinasse and Mme. du Deffand, where in a great light room beneath the canvases of Marie Laurencin, Mmes. Marval, Laprade, Vuillard, Chana Orloff, nationally known figures, meet men like Bourdelle, Paul Valéry, Meyerhold, Lenormand. Listening to the music of Maurice Ravel, Florent Schmitt, Darius Milhaud, Honnegger or Roussel, one sees one by one the profiles of Rakovsky, the Russian Ambassador; the strained features of Paul Boncour, the bulldog head of Paul Painlevé. When the last chords have died into silence, little groups form, ideas mingle, great projects are mapped out. What an indefatigable Deputy Mme. Dubost would make! With what satisfaction she would become the champion of all efforts toward improving the life of women and the relations between the nations! In the meantime it is possible that she may have new responsibilities, for a woman is to be appointed very soon by the League of Nations to take up the question of child welfare. There is certainly no one better qualified for this post than Mme. Dubost.

I should certainly add to my gallery of women of the day a portrait of Mme. Aurel, the apologist of the Couple, the great advocate of trying to raise the birthrate, as well as those of Mme. Menard-Dorian, Vice President of the League for the Rights of Man, and Maria Verona, suffrage advocate. And to complete it, let me last place the portrait of a very nearly anonymous woman, a woman of the people, one who came from their ranks and who holds tremendous influence over them.

The war forced an incredible proportion of French women and girls into the factories. If you add to the number of women thus employed the number of workers absorbed by agriculture (there are 900,000 of them), the total wages amount to over 3,000,000,000 francs a year. There are 33,000 in supplies and transport work, 72,000 in commerce, amusement enterprises and banks, 670,000 domestics, 45,000 in public service, 6,000 in the mines, 50,000 in the professions, and 1,000,000 in the garment trades. Of this total about 250,000 are organized—30,000 in the textile trades and at

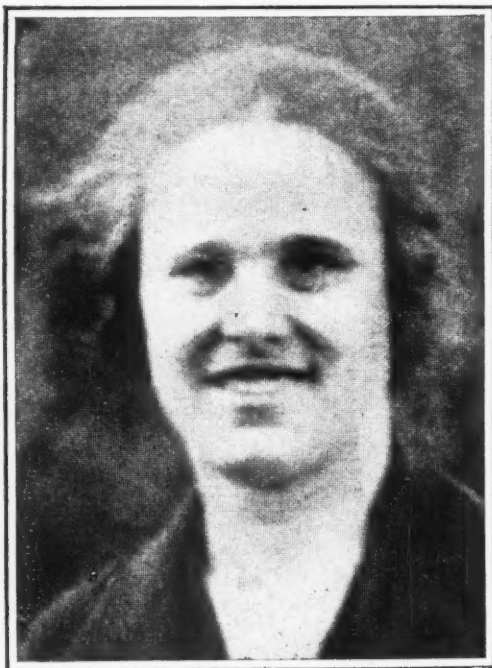


MME. DUBOST

most a few hundred among the workers in the fields.

A WORKINGWOMEN'S LEADER

The leader who has appeared among them is Germaine Goujon. Why should I choose her rather than Lucie Colliard, Marie Guillot or Marthe Bigot? It is perhaps because she possesses all the best qualities of the French workingwoman. Gay, delicate, nervous, of an enterprising temperament, this little woman, who is far from pretty, radiates personal magnetism in the fire of her green eyes, her mobile smile, her decided bearing. Upon meeting her one feels at once that she is logical, industrious and resourceful. To watch her in action is to understand that the limits of personal devotion do not exist for her, and that behind her careful gestures, her modest speech, lie the possibilities of heroism. She has been secretary of the Union of Textile Workers of Normandy for about ten years. She knows almost every one of the 20,000 workers who work in the factories there. And she knows how to influence them, how to imagine herself in their places so as to find arguments that will appeal to them. She, too, came out of the factories; she had to



GERMAINE GOUJON,
Secretary of the French Textile
Workers' Union

work hard and long for many years in order to learn all that she knows now.

Married to a railroad employé who does not share her ideas, but who allows her perfect freedom to devote herself to the cause which she has chosen, Germaine Goujon lives in one of those huge workingmen's colonies near Rouen, and out of her tiny budget of 700 francs a month she manages to be always well dressed, even elegant, and yet to come to the assistance of her friends whenever they are in distress. Because she spends herself to the limit and because she possesses a scientific knowledge of the workers' movement, and of economic theory as well, because she is an excellent speaker, too, this frail young woman is in such demand that she has practically had to give up her own personal life. Never a Sunday to herself, never a vacation except when strictly necessary to preserve her health, never any pleasures outside, her surroundings always the bare walls of the Bourse du Travail (Central Labor Union) and the faces of her comrades. She must take her turn at going out to do propaganda: trips through the provinces, educational lectures, struggles against the employers in case of strikes or unemployment, the editing of reports, articles, administrative work, and representing her union at congresses. Although very well known in her own region and in the labor movement as a whole, she is scarcely ever heard of by the public at large, and, if I choose her to speak of in this connection, it is not because she is unique, but because she represents a type of militant workingwoman of which there are hundreds today in France.

If in conclusion I should be asked to choose among all the women of whom I have spoken the one of whom I expect the most, I should not mention any one name. I should reply without thinking of names, for the hope of the future lies in the obscure and hard-working masses. From them we may expect innovations and a creative impulse, which will perhaps give birth to the most dominating figure of a woman in the future. It is certainly from this quarter that we may expect an invasion of the political arena by women. Accustomed to act for the best good of the group, they will be able to subordinate personal ambition to the common ideal, and that is the first condition of really great human action. Brought up in the rich school of poverty and work, they are blessed with a sharp sense of reality—the first requirement for political life.

PARIS, FRANCE.

Is Prohibition Being Enforced?

By MARION P. S. KELLOGG

ASSISTANT TO MRS. BRUERE IN PROHIBITION RESEARCH;
FORMERLY ON THE STAFF OF *The Survey*

IF there is one rule of their trade that historians have learned through the centuries, it is that those who bring detachment to a subject can best get at the truth. Who can do this with so controversial a problem in current history as prohibition? It is out of the realm of historians proper. Doctors are involved at a hundred points with respect to liquor drinking, within and without the law. Lawyers, as much so. The churches are more or less committed. Social workers are witnesses close to the life of the people and without an axe to grind, but their testimony was absent from the Congressional hearings two years ago. Thereafter, in *The Survey*, Dr. Haven Emerson, former Health Commissioner of New York, challenged them to come forward.

Men and women of the settlements took up the challenge. Charles C. Cooper, of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, President of their National Federation, appointed a committee of inquiry of which Lillian D. Wald, of the Henry Street Settlement, New York, was chairman. Martha Bensley Bruere was chosen as investigator and her findings have been published in a book. They carry conviction as to their closeness to reality by the fact that no attempt has been made to bend the inconsistencies in the testimony to any one point of view. The published text has been attacked both as being too wet and too dry. It makes no pretensions as a comprehensive statistical study, but forms what Margaret Bondfield, a member of the former British Labor Government, has called an "authentic document of public opinion."

Confronted by the question which Mrs. Bruere chose as the title of her book, *Does Prohibition Work?*, published by Harper & Brothers, the New Yorker invariably replies, "Of course we know it does not." But New York is only a small part of the United States and far from typical. East, West, North and South, the chief investigator went to workers of long experience and they in turn consulted old friends and neighbors, often twenty years in the same district, sometimes a lifetime. Questionnaires were sent to social workers throughout the country. The reports from 193 city neighborhoods are a mine of material too large to be compressed into a single volume.

Most of them are themselves compilations of evidence, count having been made of opinions from 1,242 individuals and more than 109 clubs and other organizations.

What the social workers in their study have done by their detachment and keenness as observers is to throw the question into perspective, break it up, give it setting. They put it in terms of social and economic status; of age and sex; in terms of geography and of time. With a true historic instinct they treat the American experiment in regulating liquor as a developing process which did not begin with the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.

There is agreement in the reports as to the people who are drinking: (1) The foreign-born of the large cities and their children, with whom it is a race habit and who drink homemade liquor, usually in moderation and, on the whole, lawfully; (2) Well-to-do and middle-class Americans, who come under this study only through their demand for bootleg products; (3) Young people of settlement groups who imitate these Americans; (4) Habitual drunkards and "old soaks" who will get some kind of liquor somehow.

In Eastern cities Italians and Jews are doing most of the bootlegging and seem to flourish like the green bay tree; whereas in various parts of the West the poor bootlegger has a hard time to eke out an existence and almost certainly ends in jail, for even the Scandinavians, "drinking wet and voting dry," can be counted on to convict the bootlegger in court. In the great cosmopolitan cities bootleggers are largely recruited from those foreign tenement dwellers who have always made their own wine and have now gone into the business of selling. Many do this only in a small way, but in some places the industry has become highly organized, entangled with politics and attended by graft, violence and general disrespect for law and the officers who should enforce it. "I have been told over and over again," writes one social worker, for twenty-one years in the district below Fourteenth Street, New York, "that the foreigner, noticing that the well-to-do American breaks the Eighteenth Amendment by buying wines from foreigners, argues that he, the foreigner, may also break the law

by stealing from the rich American." Helen Harris, of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, says: "The attitude of all bootleggers is the same on at least one point, namely, that it is not really wrong to break a law when everybody breaks it, and that he who hesitates to make what he can out of it is a fool." Immigrants who watch the bootlegger grow rich in spite of arrest and fines "say quite openly," as reported by Hull House, "You can do anything in America if you can pay for it."

ATTITUDE OF THE FOREIGN-BORN

According to the records, the majority of the foreign-born resent the law, with its unequal enforcement on the poor, and are for modification to light wines and beer. However, there are exceptions to this. It is the feeling of the resident group of South End House, Boston, "that if a referendum on prohibition could be taken with the assurance that it could be absolutely enforceable, 99 per cent. of the women of the neighborhood would probably vote for it. Employers of labor are often favorable to the law. Small shopkeepers, now selling liquor, would vote for it as enforced at present. * * * The general attitude of the neighborhood is that the amendment has failed. No one seems to want the old type of saloon back, but many favor the return to beer and light wines."

A Chicago settlement interviewed 100 persons—clergymen, bankers, professional men and women, business men, heads of institutions, housewives, trades people and wage earners. It seemed "almost impossible to bring any one single straight-cut opinion out of it all; but on the whole, the impression was gained * * * that the more intelligent, the studious, good citizen type of man is for prohibition, but he is convinced that there is a general breakdown of law enforcement and until that is remedied it is almost impossible to hope to educate the vast, unthinking public or to stifle the ubiquitous newspaper propaganda."

Although the foreign-born are drinking in large numbers, as has been their wont, it is the native-born that are fundamentally responsible for the breaking of the law. That is the indictment of a supposedly law-abiding people that recurs again and again. A Boston social worker writes: "The public is not supporting the bootlegger as, for example, it supports the movies. It is comparable more to the public that supports boxing, or some sport—a selected public. * * * The bootlegger does not sell largely to his neighbors. He sells to a transient trade, to

well-to-do classes, to the habitual alcoholic, to young wasters, to clubs, gangs, and so forth." From settlements in every part of the country comes the protest against outsiders who come to the tenement district to patronize the bootleggers and constitute a menace to the children. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, Omaha sent in reports of "lines of limousines," of "students from uptown," of "our so-called best Americans," of "rich bums from outside," of "men who come from other sections of the city." What one social worker wrote from a prairie State is duplicated elsewhere: "The foreign-born on this side of town are encouraged in manufacture of bootleg by the patronage of the American-born from the other side of town."

So far as politics and the police go it is a repetition of the history of red light districts and houses of ill fame. Whenever anything is under the ban of the law and there is profit in it, there is encouragement to graft because the police can give protection. But lack of enforcement cannot be blamed wholly upon the police nor upon the Federal officers. As one police captain pointed out: "Prohibition enforcement is not receiving a square deal from the courts or the newspapers. Both of these factors for forming public opinion ridicule the law and in no way back up the police in its enforcement." One young policeman complained that the movies, the newspapers, the man on the street, every one, including even the judge before whom he brings offenders, laugh at it.

The testimony as to the relation of native-born Americans to prohibition enforcement does not end here. Take the same racial group in a different geographical setting—the predominantly American States that had prohibition before the Eighteenth Amendment and where there had been education for it over a period of years. Kansas and Maine are fairly satisfied. From Emporia comes the statement that "there are people with grown children who never saw a drunken man." And a social worker of Wichita writes that "Kansas enforces the prohibition law just as successfully as it enforces its law against grand larceny, murder, arson and other crimes against person and property."

Kansas and Maine, however, may be set aside as congenitally temperate. But the testimony that prohibition can be enforced and works where it is enforced is not limited to them. From California, even in the midst of non-enforcement, comes the state-



LILLIAN D. WALD

Chairman of the National Federation of Settlements committee of inquiry on prohibition

ment: "In Berkeley the 'red light' and liquor laws (equally offensive to many a few years ago) are well enforced by a highly trained, well-paid and educated staff of police officers under the severe discipline of August Vollmer. *** The Berkeley court sustains the officers." Reasonably fair enforcement is reported wherever public opinion favors the law throughout the Western States far from the influence of the large cosmopolitan cities. In Sioux Falls weeks pass by without a single arrest for intoxication. In Tacoma young men are seldom brought into court for drunkenness; only the old victims are left.

EFFECT OF TIME

Time, no less than geography, enters into these divergent showings of the older American stocks, and the settlement study shifts the emphasis from a question of personal preference to nation-wide social experience, ranging back over the years and still very much in process.

The United States has experimented with prohibition for nearly a century. The first large-scale attempt was by edict of Dr.

John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who ruled over the immense territory then known as Oregon, and who wrote in his journal: "From morality and policy, I stopped the sale and issue of spirituous liquor to the Indians, but to do this effectually I had to stop the sale of liquor to all whites." When the Americans arrived on the scene in 1834, by the Factor's advice they followed his example; and in 1844 the first prohibitory law was passed by the Territorial Legislature of Oregon. There is a Canadian tradition that Maine early learned the value of prohibition by the setting of its boundary line far to the North when the Yankees got the British Commissioners drunk. Agitation for prohibition began in Maine in 1837, and the first State law was passed in 1846, but a more effective law of 1851 is the one from which the history of prohibition legislation usually dates. Various forms of regulation were tried throughout the country—local option, no license, high license—and by 1919, thirty-three of the forty-eight States had prohibition; all of them, with the exception of Maine and New Hampshire, belonging to the Southern, Middle Western or Western groups.

Of conditions before national prohibition much has been forgotten. "Present evils must always loom largest," says a Philadelphia worker, and another points out that "the laws intended to regulate the drink traffic were broken before prohibition days." From Boston comes a reminder of poisoned liquor, blind tigers and kitchen barrooms—"almost as many as the saloons"—and of illegal selling out of hours and selling to minors. This is echoed by many cities. A New England factory town had nearly 100 speakeasies selling illegally; a small Western city in a mining district, 300 open saloons and about as many blind pigs; in a mid-Western river city, sales after hours and Sundays (contrary to law) amounted to more than all the rest of the week. Children have always gone to the saloons for their parents and there has always been illegal selling to minors.

There is agreement in these reports that for two or three years after the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment there was a serious attempt to enforce it and conditions were better throughout the country.

The reports do not seek to soften current evils—excessive drinking by many; home manufacture of liquor with its attendant accidents and fires; sale and consumption of liquor in tenement homes among the children, often by human derelicts of the low-

est type; widespread lawbreaking; graft and general disregard for law. It is only too obvious that this is a study of unenforced prohibition. Were any signs found of further transition or trends in the opposite direction?

Bootlegging is a business to those engaged in it. If it ceases to be profitable, it will cease to be common. In some sections this is happening. For instance, one San Francisco bootlegger was making as much as \$100 a day when police protection became so high that the business no longer paid and he returned to his old job of truck driving. Boston sends the statement that "the days of large profits in bootleg stuff have passed. The competition is now very keen and the number of people engaged in the business is so great as to cut down the excessive returns." From Brooklyn: "Today the saloon man must keep his place open early and late and still finds that his profit little more than supports himself and his family, for the illicit trade in liquor hereabouts, except in the few well-placed saloons, is not what it was years ago."

Varying factors influence this situation. In the part of Brooklyn just mentioned, 250 industrial firms employ 45,000 workers. These constitute, we are told, "unfailing opponents to intemperance, for their demand for efficiency develops habits of attention, activity and self-control."

A generally higher standard of living prevails throughout the country, owing, among other things, to health education, longer school life, interest in athletics, higher wages and steady employment; and social workers of experience believe that in this improvement less drinking among the tenement people has played its part, even as better conditions have discouraged drinking. Certain it is that savings bank deposits have increased in amounts and in the number of depositors to such an extent and in such places as to require more than general prosperity and higher wages as an explanation.

Substitutes for the saloon have become popular, such as movies, radios and autos. One real estate agent laments that it is no easier to collect rents; but where the excuse used to be drink, now it is a payment on the car or a new tire. The automobile wins against the home brewery and still. One little Italian boy told his teacher: "So warm, so good roads everywhere. My father not bother to make wine, only little, maybe ten gallons for God's birthday at Christmas. Just ride, ride in country all the time."

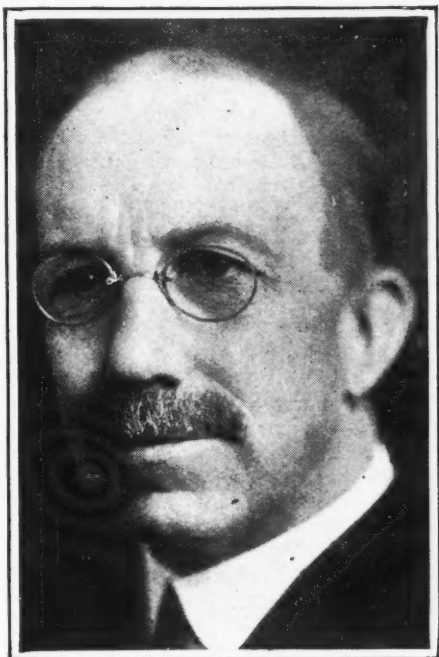
This brings us, as Mrs. Bruère points out,

to the question whether the immigrants, in adopting the customs of their new home, will change the drink habits they brought from the Old World. Some have given up home brewing because of the trouble and expense in case the product does not turn out well. Not all of them, however, have stopped drinking. But the report comes from many sources that the children of Italian and Jewish immigrants, who have always been accustomed to the moderate use of wine with meals, prefer tea, coffee, water, milk or cocoa, and the belief is expressed that the old customs will die out to some extent with the older generation. Of great significance is the fact that in more than one city liquor has been entirely eliminated from a few foreign festivals and weddings, in spite of the superstition of bad luck unless the bride's health is drunk in wine.

A general belief exists that women are drinking more than in the past, undoubtedly, in part because of the breakdown of religious and social restraints. Against this contention two social workers, nearly thirty years in their neighborhoods, state positively that the tenement women are drinking less than ever before. Several workers speak of contempt for a drunken woman. A Philadelphian reports that "comparatively few women are seen reeling on the streets." A New Yorker says: "The tenement women who drink are losing caste more and more." A Cleveland social worker sums up the situation in her neighborhood: "I do not know an Italian boy or young man who would not be shocked and disgusted to see a young woman in his company who was drunk, or who would think it 'smart' of her. The other nationalities divide into crowds where it 'is done' or it 'is not done.' The better class of colored people look down on a drinking woman, feeling that she is beyond hope. I think that most of the defiant type of this thing is among American young people who feel that they are making a real impression."

What, then, of the coming generation? How much the wildness of youth today is due to drink and how much to other things is hard to determine. The so-called post-war psychology with its revolt against Puritanism and tradition, the notoriety given in the press to juvenile offenders, sensational movies and the ever-present automobile are all parts of the situation.

The tenement young people may be divided into certain groups. Of many who drink in bravado some will doubtless form the habit. Some, as Americans, are giving up the drink habits of their foreign-born par-



Harris & Ewing

WAYNE B. WHEELER

General Counsel of the Anti-Saloon League and generally regarded as being responsible more than any other individual for the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, who died on Sept. 5, 1927

ents. Some have seen the evil side of drinking and taken a stand against it. There is evidence among some young people as with the women that a standard is slowly growing up that does not tolerate drinking. While some settlements still have difficulty in carrying on dances, because of liquor smuggled in, the hip flask has entirely disappeared in other places—"for more than two years," write several settlement heads.

Clearly the prohibition problem takes on a different face when it is thrown into perspective and broken up into terms of foreign-born and native-born, of the large urban centres and the normal community, of men and women, youth and age, and especially in terms of a social process, of time, and its dynamic counterpart, education.

IN THE DAYS OF THE SALOON

"One of the major troubles with prohibition," wrote William Allen White to the settlement committee, "is that people have such short memories. They forget the saloon." One hundred and seventy-one thousand saloons with their treating system are

gone. Yet the memory of the "Saturday night jamboree" and the practical emptying of the pay envelope in the saloon is not entirely lost. Scarcely any, even of the foreign group, wished for its return, and many a mother spoke of her thankfulness that her son need not pass a row of saloons going to and from work. In Cleveland, one example of many: "Children do not go in a procession to the saloon for beer as they used to and cannot but grow away from it in the next generation."

Among the contradictory opinions marshalled by these observers one can find almost anything he desires. In phrase and fact this article itself is a mosaic drawn from the reports, published and unpublished. But if we try to analyze the summaries of the social workers themselves, certain tendencies emerge. On the one hand, there are those who express themselves as for prohibition if it can be enforced, but think modification to light wines and beer the only workable plan for their neighborhoods. On the other hand, there are many more who believe conditions better in spite of all the evils and would go forward rather than back. Of the three settlement heads coming out sharply against prohibition one lived in an ex-brewery district, which constitutes a peculiar problem; one came to the neighborhood in 1920; and none of the residents of a third house was there before 1921.

The especial value of such a study lies in the judgment of those who know, not only present conditions, but conditions among the same groups in the past, those whose training leads them to recognize historic sequence and to put fair value on any one period in a long procession of events. The outstanding feature of this investigation is the conclusions of the fourteen social workers who have been from seventeen to thirty-two years in their neighborhoods. They agree that, granted all the evils, prohibition is a force for good and insist on a fair trial; and they believe the effect of this social legislation can be determined only when people are sufficiently educated to recognize its intention and demand its enforcement.

Jane Addams sums up the matter thus: "The situation is a very difficult one largely owing to the fact that the laws are not being enforced. However, to give it up now or to modify the Eighteenth Amendment would be to obtain not even a negative result. In our city the lack of enforcement on the part of the local authorities is part of the general civic corruption. The general public opinion in the city neighborhood against its enforcement is, of course, a large

factor. In this aspect its present failure is like the failure of the first attempts in the South after the abolition of slavery. The Southern people did not believe slavery should have been abolished. They did not believe the United States had the right to legislate about it, and so the slaves were barely free when they lost their votes; they fell into peonage and all sorts of things happened to them; yet in three generations no one would venture to say that the descendants of slaves are not enormously better off than if the legislation had not been passed."

Mary Roberts Coolidge, a pioneer social worker of California, says: "There is not in California more lawlessness nor disrespect than has been usual in the United States on occasion of any new issue, whenever tradition or habit has been curbed by law. * * * In my judgment it will take a full generation to enforce this law." Mrs. G. H. Randolph of the Welfare Association of Emporia, who has lived in Kansas for fifty years, says: "When Kansas first had prohibition, eminent and respectable citizens did just as they are now doing where it is being initiated. In the end they always failed." Anna F. Davies of the College Settlement, Philadelphia, writes: "Look at the compulsory attendance laws and the opposition we had when they were first enforced. No one thought of repealing them because of the hue and cry. We just went on enforcing them. Today not all the children are in school, but a far greater per cent. are than used to be. That is the way with prohibition. It will take time to get people educated."

YEARS NEEDED FOR ENFORCEMENT

How much time will be needed is vari-ously estimated. William E. McLennan, with seventeen years' experience in the same settlement in Buffalo, believes that "even with its mixed results, prohibition has done good," and thinks another ten years may begin to show the real facts. Anna B. Heldman, for more than twenty years in the Irene Kaufman Settlement, Pittsburgh, wants twenty years' trial; and meanwhile enforcement on rich and poor alike. Mary E. McDowell reports that residents of the University of Chicago Settlement feel that "at least twenty-five years will be necessary

to test its effectiveness in a large industrial cosmopolitan neighborhood such as this. * * * Our greatest hope lies in educating the people to the point where they actually want prohibition and where they will not tolerate the lack of enforcement on the part of Government and city officials."

The testimony of others as to the human consequences of prohibition, even under partial enforcement, is explicit. In her conclusion, Mrs. Bruère says on this point: "The reports do show that all of the things hoped for by the advocates of prohibition are being realized in some places, and that even where the law is least observed some of them have come true." Lillian D. Wald, more than twenty-five years head of Henry Street Settlement, New York, says that "the standard of family life has been raised through the Prohibition act, which I regard as of the greatest social importance." Flora Dunlap, speaking for the Roadside Settlement, Des Moines, puts it vividly: "Drunkenness in the Bottoms twenty years ago and drunkenness there today are as smallpox before and since men learned vaccination."

Professor Graham Taylor, Warden of Chicago Commons, points out that before prohibition the liquor traffic held itself above the law; now it must follow the tactics of outlawry. In the past it pursued its victims openly; now they must pursue it. A change pregnant for the future is recorded by Dr. John Elliott of Hudson Guild, New York: "One decided difference in the kind of drinking is today noticeable. It used to be the custom to consider beer and whiskey as a stimulus to work. It is today used almost exclusively as a stimulus to amusement." And he adds: "After thirty years of observing the use and abuse of alcoholic liquors I believe the amendment is working good, even now, and that, if the law were enforced, it would be an immense blessing."

The evidence of these social workers of long experience is epitomized by Mrs. Robert Bradford, for more than thirty years resident in the Lighthouse, Philadelphia: "We visited constantly before 1918; we visit constantly still; and yet we no longer see the effects of liquor as we did before."—And of the Eighteenth Amendment: "The sum of all its failures does not offset the sum of its benefits."



Intellectual Leaders of the Chinese Revolution

By ROBERT MERRILL BARTLETT

PROFESSOR OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE, PEKING UNIVERSITY;
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HAND in hand with China's political revolution have gone the more significant revolutions in culture and literature. No great military leader has appeared during these fifteen years of conflict, and only one outstanding political prophet, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The chief creators of the new China are neither military heroes nor politicians; they are literary men who have done their reforming by the pen. This does not mean that the Chinese Revolution has been without force or bloodshed, or that it is an accomplished fact, but that it is under the influence of a group of literati, unique prophets who are largely unknown to the Western world. It is the purpose of this article to discuss briefly some of these men.

Liang Chi-chao, dean of Chinese letters and father of constitutional reform, is now almost sixty. His name comes first among the reformers of the pen. Mr. Liang was a pupil of the noted scholar Kang Yu-wei. They were the leaders in the reforms of 1898, which were so blindly opposed by the old Manchu Dowager. Driven out as an exile, Liang became an agitator for progress and moderate reform. He edited the first daily newspaper in Peking. He was editor of a number of reform papers: *Political Opinion*, *Justice* and *Hsin Wen Magazine*. Traveling in Japan, America and Europe, writing continually, Liang returned after the revolution of 1911 to take part in the organization of the Government. He was leader of the Progressive Party, holding office in a number of cabinets. His influence was demonstrated in 1914 and 1915 when he attacked the twenty-one demands of Japan, and again in 1917 when he influenced the Chinese Government to join with the Allied Powers in the World War.



LIANG CHI-CHAO

Mr. Liang attended the Paris Peace Conference. Since 1917 he has given his time to writing and lecturing. He is a member of the International Writers' Club, lecturer at Tsing Hua College, Peking, contributing editor to a number of periodicals, and a busy public speaker and writer. Every educated Chinese has read Liang Chi-chao's *Yen Ping Shih*, a collection of essays, and other lectures and opinions of this scholar.

Now known as a conservative liberal, Mr. Liang in 1898 was a radical. The tremendous changes since then have left him somewhat behind the times. He now leads the Yen Chao Hsi, a party committed to political moderation and educational reform. His opposition to the Kuomintang and Soviet Russia has given him the name of ultra-conservative. Despite all this he is one of the leaders in the New Thought movement, a writer of beautiful Chinese style, a friend of new ideas and a genuine reformer. If Mr.

Liang is not an original thinker he is an important popularizer of new ideas. Writing on "Revolution and Reform" he says:

Revolution is the law of nature * * * Reform must begin with the people, not with the officials. We must not wait for their reforms. We must begin ourselves and save ourselves. We must not fear revolution. We must succeed in changing the present condition. In China not merely politics need reform; all institutions need the spirit of change. We must make a sincere effort to lift the common welfare! (*Yen Ping Shih*, Vol. III.)

In an essay entitled, "Educating the People Is China's Most Urgent Need," he writes:

"China is now in a most dangerous position, because she lacks universal education. People are masters of a land, the source from which a nation gets her strength and stability. There are many young people

today who worry about China's condition, and realize there is a crisis. But it is useless if we give attention only to diplomatic relations and neglect the fundamental reform of the nation. Imperialism prevails everywhere. Is it not because China lacks reform from the inner side?

This is the tone of Mr. Liang's numerous articles, editorials and lectures. He is an optimist, a progressive, who has been promoting for the last thirty years a program of nationalism, constitutional reform, popular education, holding before his nation the story of the development of the modern West and the example of men of courage and initiative. Among the impressions I gained when I first saw Mr. Liang in June, 1926, in his home at Tsing Hua College, are these: He is a Buddhist of a low scientific order, an enemy of the Marxian view of life, a kind of poetic rationalist who has place for religious faith, a champion of sane nationalism, an advocate of science, the critical method, an admirer of Bertrand Russell, an advocate of popular education as the basis of the New China and a scholar who has the skill to make popular ancient Chinese culture and new Western thought.

In a conversation last January with Professor Liang Shou-ming, author of the noted book *The Philosophy and Culture of the East and West*, and certainly one of the most important of China's contemporary philosophic writers, I asked what he considered the most significant literary contributions in China during the past thirty-five years. He said: "The writings of Liang Chi-chao before the Revolution, and since the Revolution *The New Youth Magazine* and especially the editor, Chen Tu-siu." Mr. Chen may perhaps be given the title of the leading radical. His noted magazine was started in 1915. As Dean of the College of Letters at the National University of Peking he gathered about him a number of reformers, who united to promote the literary, intellectual and political revolutions. Mr. Chen is now known as an old man, but he is still in spirit a revolutionist. Contrasted with Liang Chi-chao he is an iconoclast, who has consistently opposed the "Old Culture": "Confucian standards must go, filial piety and these conservative ethics are fetters which must be broken; away with superstition, abolish the idols of the past. Destroy the old style of writing and with it the old style of thought, and follow science and material forces."

It is about Chen Tu-siu and his magazine that the New Culture movement has cen-

tred and the famous names: Wu Chih-hui, Li Ta-chao, Lu Sin, Chou Tso-jen and Hu Shih. This able group has championed the *pia hua* or vulgar language movement, the critical study of Chinese culture and literature, the adoption of Western ideas and in general the radical re-evaluation of all values.

Reading a few sections of Mr. Chen's *Wen Tsun (Collected Essays)*, the spirit of the man is soon discovered; for example, in his essay, "The Destruction of Idols":

May I ask why we should destroy the idols? There are many persons and things that are useless, but are venerated just like idols. A thing which is useless, even though it receives honor, should be destroyed. * * * All the gods and devils in heaven and earth cannot be proved to be real. These pretenses in religion are like the idols which deceive men. The term *amita Buddha*, or the word "Jehovah," or the term "Emperor of Heaven" may deceive people. All the spirits which the theologians worship are useless idols which should be broken. In the ancient days folks were ignorant and believed that a King was the Son of Heaven. They worshiped and honored him, believing that his power was greater than any one in his country. This idea of divinity permitted the King to reign. As a matter of fact, Kings and Emperors are all idols. They cannot work miracles; they depend entirely on the people. The Emperor Pu Yi, in China, and Emperor Nicholas, in Russia, are more pitiful than the ordinary citizen today, because they have lost their kingdoms. These Emperors, like the idols of clay and wood, have been destroyed and thrown into the rubbish heap.

Speaking also of the idols of the nation, family and ethics, Mr. Chen ends thus:

Destruction! Destroy the idols! Destroy false idols! Our faith should take the standard of real truth. The vain, traditional glory of religion, politics and morality are all idols which ought to be destroyed. The reality of the universe and our own faith can never combine if these idols are not swept away!

Writing on "The Revolution of Literature," Mr. Chen says:

Three principles may be written on the banner of our revolution: First, to overthrow the ornate, flattering, noble literature, and create the simple, lyrical, people's literature; second, to overthrow the antiquated, extravagant, classical literature and create a new, truthful, realistic literature; third, to overthrow the complex, difficult and scenic literature and create the simple, ordinary, social literature. * * * European civilization is not only gifted with politics and science, but also has great literature. I love Rousseau, Zola, Kant, Bacon, Darwin, and many I cannot here mention. Is any one in China as great as one of these men? If there is any one who will disregard his own honor and reputation to join in the fight against the eighteen devils (the classi-

cal scholars who oppose the progress and reform in literature) I will drag the biggest cannon and be a forerunner in the fight against these enemies!

In the recent *Controversy Between Science and Philosophy of Life*, Mr. Chen championed science and attacked metaphysics. He states in his preface to the collected essays which make up this controversy that science is more fundamental than metaphysics:

Comte divided the progress of human society into three periods; we are still in the period of religious superstition. Do not the great majority of our people still believe in witches, fortune-telling and foolish things? Among the educated class there are many who believe in metaphysics.

In another short essay Mr. Chen says:

Some one has made the remark that China needs three forces—the Russian spirit, German science and American capital. I think we do not need American money, but do need to combine the Russian spirit and German science. At present, people welcome American wealth, but they are indifferent to German science, and their greatest terror is the Russian spirit.

Along with Chen Tu-siu goes Wu Chih-hui, author, materialist and radical. Mr. Wu, who is now also among the older generation, has become one of the boldest of the reformers. He is an anarchist, a revolutionist, who has suffered exile for his beliefs; but a teacher and warm-hearted democrat who is respected for his character and earnest life. This touch of autobiography is found in his representative essays:

WU CHIH-HUI'S CAREER

I am now sixty years old; when the Emperor of Japan determined to reform his empire I was seven. From that year I began to learn Chinese characters, to memorize the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*, and stuff my memory with the famous essays. When twenty I became interested in critical study of the classics, and a great admirer of the Han Dynasty scholars. I had an ambition to write critical studies, and felt exceedingly proud to have the opportunity to study these noble works of our "Middle-Flowery-Kingdom." At that time I wrote inflammatory articles to denounce the foreign church and instigated people to burn these churches. I refuted republicanism by quoting the classics, and argued that a great empire must have a king. * * * When I was thirty, I came to Peking for the examinations, but failed. I lived at that time with a successful candidate, Wang Ying-mien. One day Chang Chien came to my place to talk with Mr. Wang. Chang Chien was a student of the Premier, Wong Tsing-ho, and agreed with the scholars of the time that they should help the Premier to fight the dwarfish Japanese. A few months later the Emperor issued an edict and ordered "give the enemies a decisive blow." Every

one thought that the three islands of Japan would be crushed in a few days. But the war news became more and more disappointing. Four months later a General who was responsible for the loss of the frontier of Manchuria was beheaded. Then Kang Yu-Wei presented his famous memorial to the Emperor, and Liang Chi-chao published lists of foreign books for the students of China. At this time I followed these great men and tried to play a humble part. But how disappointing it is that after thirty years have passed, our education is still ornamental, our industry is still undeveloped, the reforms are but changed sign-boards! And now people are taking Chinese curios, classical criticism and so forth, as the spiritual civilization of the East, digging up rubbish from the past to eat as divine ambrosia! And today I am still obliged to write articles such as Liang Chi-chao wrote thirty years ago! Ah, you sick man of the East, your sickness has really become incurable!

Mr. Wu has been an outspoken opponent of Tagore, and during the Indian poet's visit to Peking, Wu Chih-hui's rough satire was too much for his delicate sensibilities. Mr. Wu's style is characterized by the use of common language, slang, vulgar comparisons, keen humor, bold satire and audacity. In the *Controversy Between Science and Philosophy of Life* he attacks Chang Chun-mai, the chief defender of the spiritual interpretation of life, and other half-hearted friends of science, calling them Tagores of China. One of the longest and most original documents in this discussion is "A New Cosmology and Philosophy of Life." Here Mr. Wu denies the existence of God, arguing that the material basis of life is more acceptable than the spiritual, and concluding that the philosophy of the anarchist is his faith: "Every one does what he can and gets what he wants." Wu Chih-hui is like Browning's heroes, fearless, idealistic, striving for progress. In *Personal Blind Talk* he writes: "Some one has asked me: 'Have you become pessimistic? Have you retired from work?' It is true that I have retired for a time, but you never find the word pessimism in Wu Chih-hui's philosophy dictionary!"

No explanation of contemporary Chinese thought is complete without consideration of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, author of the *San Min Chui*, the "Three Peoplism," which has made him the father of the Chinese Republic and the founder of the first political party in the history of the Republic. A majority of the noted radicals have been friends of Dr. Sun's, and influenced by his work. Liang Chi-chao, although in favor of many of the People's Party principles, has been the leader of the less radical Progressive Party. Wu Chih-hui lived with Dr. Sun

in London and helped lay plans for the advance of revolution. Chen Tu-siu co-operated with Dr. Sun and has been an outstanding leader of the radical wing. There are many other scholars like Hu Han-min, Tsai Yuan-pei, Wong Tsing-wei, Tai Chitao, Lu Sin, Kuo Moh-joh, who gathered about Dr. Sun and formed a remarkable group of literary revolutionists. Even if the ranks of the People's Party have been divided into Communist and Nationalist, the personality of Sun Yat-sen remains the centre of a tremendously powerful party of idealists. Thousands of school children repeat each day his last will and testament; thousands read his program for the reconstruction of China; a dozen universities bear his name, and his memory is respected throughout China. Sun Yat-sen was not a professional politician. He left his profession of medicine to become a journalist and revolutionist. His work was that of a pioneer and visionary.

Lu Sin, China's most eminent fiction writer, is a pillar in the New Culture movement. The bearer of this well-known pen name, Chou Shu-chen, spent ten years studying in Japan. Although interested in medicine he spent most of his time, he tells me, in reading Russian literature and the literature of submerged nationalities. He and his brother, Chou Tso-chen, who has been almost as equally prominent as his brother and is considered by some to be the master of the prose essay in China today, collected and translated a number of stories from Russia, Poland and Southern Europe, while they were studying in Japan. The two brothers returned to China to give their lives to literary work. Lu Sin, like Chekhov, Schnitzler and Oliver Wendell Holmes, left medicine for creative literature. He is now 46 and is generally recognized as the great realist of contemporary Chinese literature and a master of the short story.

LU SIN'S VIEWS

I visited Lu Sin before he left Peking for Amoy in the Summer of 1926. Being a "radical," he felt it imperative that he get away from the stifled intellectual atmosphere of Chang Tso-lin's rule. So he

joined in the general exodus to the South which has robbed the capital of most of its literati.

"I have found more in Russia than in any foreign culture," he told me. "There is a certain sympathetic relation between China and Russia, a common bond in culture and experience. Chekhov is my favorite writer. Among my favorites I should also name Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Gorky, Tolstoy, Andreev, Sienkiewicz, Nietzsche and Schiller. Russian literature has been the most fully translated of any foreign literature and perhaps the most influential in modern China. This is due to similar political and spiritual conditions in the two countries. China is facing the same human struggles which the Russian novelist met. Mr. Liang Chi Chao may fear Russia, but I do not." Glancing through the annals of the *New Youth Magazine* one often finds the stories of Lu Sin. He really began the short story movement in 1918 with the publication of *A Madman's Diary*.

Lu Sin is important as a realist, a singer of the commonplace. He has little place for poetry; he is primarily concerned with the lives of the peasant and village folk. He said "there is neither love nor poetry in my life." His stories are touched with a sympathy and warmheartedness that recall Dostoevsky and Gorky. His most noted story, *The Biography of Ah-Q*, has been translated into French, Russian, German and English. Romain Rolland, after reading this story, said: "This is a kind of realistic art which is full of satire. Ah-Q's suffering face will always have a place in my memory." This is the only one of Lu Sin's stories which has been published in English. It is a tremendously real presentation of a simple Chinese peasant, an ignorant, village fellow who fails completely to understand the Revolution and the new day. In *A Disturbance*, a vivid story of village life, Lu Sin tells with fun and satire how little the peasant is touched by change. *A Madman's Diary* is a rough satire on traditional culture. *The Shouting*, his first collection of short stories, published in 1923, has been followed by a number of collections of stories and essays.



LU SIN

In his work is found, as one critic puts it, "the common and simple events in which we find life's eternal tragedies." Lu Sin is a born radical, a fearless critic and satirist, independent and democratic. He

writes in the language of the people. He is an enemy of superstition, a disciple of modern science, an advocate of new ideas. "Confucianism and Buddhism are dead and can never revive," he told me. "There is no god. Science and morality are enough. The Chinese people are unreligious and can never be made religious. The trouble with the Chinese today is that they are lazy. When they get to work wars will cease; China will no longer be sick. Work and science are her salvation."

Kuo Moh-joh, the fighting poet and novelist, is another example of the man of let-

ters as revolutionist. He, like all those previously mentioned, obtained his ideas while studying Western thought in Japan. Returning to China, he became the leader of the "Creative Society" and a prominent poet and story writer. He is an active member of the Canton revolutionary party and recently has entered the People's Army. Mr. Kuo and his associates write profusely in his magazine, *The Flood*, and other radical papers on communism, world revolution, Marx, Lenin and Russia. An illuminating article appears in *The Flood* entitled "The Consciousness of an Artist":

I have been partly applauded and partly criticized for what I have recently written on social thought in *The Flood*. My opponents have said: "You are recognized as a literary man; it is enough for a literary fellow to write poems and stories, and unnecessary for you to discuss social theories." It seems that the literary man should be ex-

cluded from such fields of thought. I find that Clémenceau, the nationalist, was a novelist; and Proudhon, the anarchist, was first a poet. * * * Some look unhappy when they hear that I have written no verse or fiction since I began to give time to social articles. They consider that my obligation is to literature and the abandonment of it a loss to art. I thank them for this praise, but I do not believe that my change will have much effect. Those who read my writings realize that my present ideas differ from my past opinions. I have tried to be a spokesman of the people, but my thoughts were not as clear as they are at present. There is no law in any nation which prohibits an artist from expressing his social opinions.

A man's spiritual activities are not limited to one plane of development. He has a moral sense as well as a sense of beauty, emotion as well as intellect. Since the ideal achievement of a person is based on the perfection of the development of his intellect, emotion and conscience, and the internal and external harmony of his various activities, there is no reason why the artist may not make inquiries into other ranges of thought. There is no person in the world like Robinson Crusoe, excluded from society on a desert island. Man must come into contact with others and the

social influence affects his mental and spiritual activities. The age and environment in which man lives mold the course of his activities. Art is also a product of the age and environment. Poets who were born before the invention of motion pictures will not write poems to commemorate the merits of this invention. * * * How can an artist escape socialistic thoughts when he lives in the birth-period of such ideas?

From the qualitative point of view, artists are more readily affected by external stimuli, because they are more sensitive than ordinary people. They are the first who are



DR. HU SHIH



CHOU TSO-JEN

stirred to the suffering of men. They teach the necessity of reform. Art is the forerunner of revolution. The French Revolution was brought about through the ideas of the Italian Renaissance, and the teachings of Rousseau and Voltaire. The new revolution of the working class was begun by Karl Marx, who was a poet in his youth. Lenin and Trotsky are literary men, leaders of the world revolt of today.

Hu Shih, Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University, is one of the youngest heroes of the pen, but an outstanding influence among the student class. Dr. Hu's English book, *An Outline of the Logical Method in China*, represents his careful scholarship. He is the most prominent of the Western-trained men. He has edited some of the classic novels, applied historical criticism to the philosophical and religious classics, promoted the vernacular language movement, written poems in the common language, introduced Western philosophers and writers, and made himself the spokesman of the new day. Practically every young student has read the *Essays of Hu Shih*, clear, simple and attractive presentations of New Thought, now numbering eight volumes. One of these notable essays is "The Meaning of Renaissance," written in 1919, in which Hu Shih says:

Chen Tu-siu states that the Renaissance champions two principles—democracy and science. In order to champion democracy we have to oppose Confucianism, the old ceremony, and old etiquette. In order to champion science we have to oppose the old art, the old religion, the old literature, the ancient national culture.

Although this is very clear it is not very logical. Suppose a person asks why we want to champion science and democracy

and oppose national culture and literature? The answer will naturally be because national culture and literature are contrary to science and democracy. Again we may ask, How can institutions which are contrary be opposed? This is not an easy question to be answered. According to my personal opinion, the fundamental meaning of the Renaissance is a new attitude. It may be called the critical attitude. This critical attitude is a re-classifying of what is good and what is not good. This attitude implies a few special demands.

First, we shall question traditional customs. Are they justifying their existence? Second, we ask, are the ideas of the ancient sages correct today? Third, of those foolish

but acknowledged beliefs we want to ask: are these things which have been recognized by the majority of the people without error? Should we follow others and act in the traditional way? Are there better and more profitable ways of doing things?

Nietzsche said: "At present it is time for the transvaluation of all values." This is a good explanation of the term "critical attitude. Formerly we thought that women should bind their feet to increase their beauty, but now we regard this custom as a tragedy. Ten years ago the family host served opium to his guests, while today it is prohibited by law. Twenty years ago Kang Yuwei was a progressive; now he has become a conservative.

Has Kang Yuwei made any change in himself? No, the people have changed their ideas. This is what I call the transvaluation of all values.

Hu Shih belongs to one of the most important literary groups of China, which centres at the National University of Peking, and publishes the liberal *Contemporary Review*. He has never entered politics, confining his work to teaching and writing. During the recent riots and demonstra-



KANG YU-WEI



LI TA-CHAO

A prominent intellectual leader of the Chinese revolution who was hanged with nineteen other Communists in Peking on April 28, 1927, by order of Chang Tso-lin.

tions Dr. Hu made a statement that he considered that the first duty of the young Chinese was his college study and not political agitation. He was severely reprimanded by the radicals for such a reactionary statement. For the last year he has been in Europe and America and has written a number of important articles which are interpreted by some as indicative of increasing radicalism. One of these, "Our Attitude Toward Modern Western Civilization," July, 1926, is extremely significant:

There is current today an entirely baseless but very poisonous popular opinion which stigmatizes Western civilization as "materialistic" and honors Eastern civilization as "spiritual." * * * The particular character of modern Western civilization is its full recognition of the importance of material enjoyment. In my view Western civilization is built on three primary conceptions: First, that the search for happiness is the aim of human life; second, that poverty is therefore sin; third, that ill-health is therefore also sin.

Any survey of the arts, science and laws of modern Western life will, indeed, reveal many murderous machines and institutions that plunder and oppress; yet we cannot but admit that the fundamental spirit of the West tends toward the enrichment of life. Has this civilization of the enriched life really neglected man's mental and spiritual needs? Is it in truth a purely materialistic civilization? Let us boldly reply: "Modern Western civilization by no means disregards the spiritual needs of mankind." We can, with equal boldness, take a further step: "Modern Western civilization is able to satisfy the needs of man's mind and spirit to a degree far surpassing anything the older Eastern civilization could ever dream of." From this viewpoint modern Western civilization far from being materialistic, is, in fact, idealistic and spiritual!

On the one hand there is quiet acceptance of one's appointed lot, quiet acceptance of poverty, desire to please heaven, non-resistance, endurance of misery. On the other

hand, there is dissatisfaction with one's appointed lot, dissatisfaction with poverty, unwillingness to endure misery, determined struggle, continuous improvement of the existing environment. The Easterner, seeing a rich man, says: "His ancestors cultivated virtue." If poor himself, he says "My ancestors did not cultivate themselves." He says: "Fate determined these conditions." Not so the Westerner. He says: "The inequalities of wealth and poverty, the misery of circumstances, are all the result of bad institutions, but institutions can be improved."

Then they struggle, but not for power or profit. They fight for freedom, for equality, for justice. The struggle is not exclusively for the selfish advantage of the individual. The outcome of the conflict is "the greatest good for the greatest number." This greatest good for the greatest number is not to be gained by sitting with folded hands repeating the name of Buddha. It must be fought for with ardent effort! My friends, after all, which type of civilization can satisfy your heart desires?



LIANG SHOU-MING

Hu Shih is a figure of no small importance in the New Culture movement which is stirring all China to new life. He is a practical-minded disciple of John Dewey's pragmatism and Henrik Ibsen's social vigor, a brilliant interpreter of

Western thought, a fertile stimulating critic of ancient Chinese culture, and a staunch champion of reform. He may be neither poet nor philosopher, but in the words of one of his intimate friends, "he has touched the pulse of a nation in need and becomes the spokesman of thousands of earnest reformers who are sure to bring about her salvation."

This discussion mentions only a few of the New Thought leaders in China, and is admittedly incomplete, but I trust that this brief account of these eminent scholars makes clear the fact that the pen has been mightier than the sword in China's revolution.



The Movement to Renounce War as a Diplomatic Weapon

By JAMES T. SHOTWELL

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY, CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

IT is not often that one is privileged to read an article which contains a 100 per cent. misstatement of the subject with which it deals. Yet Professor Albert Bushnell Hart succeeded in achieving this remarkable feat in his comments in the July number of *CURRENT HISTORY* (pages 623-624) with reference to a plan for a "Draft Treaty of Permanent Peace," for which I have been in part responsible. After the opening paragraph, which is a mere introduction, there is a major misstatement in every single paragraph in the article. So thickly are these misstatements strewn that the only proper way to criticize the article would be to reprint the text of Professor Hart with a corrected statement as a parallel or commentary. I refrain, however, from applying this treatment to more than a few outstanding points.

The Draft Treaty was not "a kind of contract to insure peace to the afflicted world by a new system of arbitration." In the published commentary on the text of the Draft Treaty I have already pointed out that this is not an effort to apply compulsory arbitration or to extend the scope of arbitration beyond the limits of accepted American policy and practice. The whole drift of the Treaty is in another direction, which is indicated in my own commentary, but should be clear to any student of politics from a study of the text itself. Discussion on this point follows in a later paragraph.

I was not "one of the authors of the Geneva Protocol." The Geneva Protocol contained certain elements of a plan proposed by the committee of which I was a member, but the Protocol contained other provisions which I opposed from first to last, and these so changed the whole proposition that, from the first moment of my return to America, in public speeches and written comment, I have always opposed the idea that the Geneva Protocol was applicable to the United States. The whole of my work both before and after the Geneva Protocol tends in an entirely different direction from that of the rigid sanction to which Professor Hart refers. It is surely no fault of his

to be uninformed as to my point of view, but that should save him from making any comment so misleading as that published in the July *CURRENT HISTORY*, upon which, in a later paragraph, he builds up equally unsound hypotheses.

Professor Hart objects to the "system of applying pressure to the United States Government through organizations in which college men are the protagonists," and connects this with the activities of the Carnegie Endowment. Professor Hart does the Carnegie Endowment unwonted honor in making it responsible for movements of public opinion which have largely originated outside the academic world, and only in a few instances have found academic spokesmen. As a matter of fact, the contributions to international affairs which have come from outside Foreign Offices constitute one of the most hopeful signs in the world today. The phenomenon is not limited to the United States. There is fully as much of it in Germany and England as at home. Far from impeding the development of sound policy, it indicates the growth of an enlightened public opinion in this field, the need for which has been insisted upon by every Government which in recent years has dealt with the fundamental problems of peace and war. Professor Hart's deduction that "the foundation of the whole matter is the conviction that the foreign policy of the United States is not wisely or properly carried on," and so forth, is, therefore, a misleading analysis of a complex and far-reaching constructive movement which the Governments themselves, upon the whole, have welcomed and favored, our own Government not excepted.

If Professor Hart's strictures were justified or if his implications held, M. Briand should not be addressing the Interparliamentary Union at the present moment, for, although the membership of that body is drawn from different parliaments of the world, it is entirely unofficial, and has even been found temporarily embarrassing to certain Foreign Offices by the frankness of its discussion. Nevertheless, the ultimate

effect of a frank exchange of views in the creation of enlightened public opinion has seemed worth while to the very Foreign Offices which may be affected by the discussions. Similarly, the Pan-American Union, an unofficial body which does not always move in line with official wishes, nevertheless receives the cordial support of Washington. The Institute of Pacific Relations is likewise interfering helpfully with suggestions for policies in the Pacific. It would be impossible to enumerate here the considerable number of international organizations which intrude themselves and their advice in the formulation of policy. Behind them there exists in each country a still greater number of national bodies directed to the same end, and in all democratic countries their activities are regarded not only as legitimate but as necessary. However, the discussion of this point is not the chief matter before us.

THE BRYAN TREATIES

With reference to the Draft Treaty of Permanent Peace, Professor Hart says that this "goes back in part to the diplomacy of the late Secretary of State William J. Bryan, particularly his series of arbitration treaties of 1913 to 1915," and adds the comment that "these treaties called out fierce denunciation from Theodore Roosevelt, who asked what was the use of agreeing to arbitrate every question which might be in dispute between two nations, when it was perfectly clear that there were questions which the United States would never arbitrate?" There are two comments to make concerning these allegations. The first is that the Bryan treaties were not treaties of arbitration at all. They provided commissions to investigate the facts in dispute but did not introduce arbitration as a solution. The second is that our Draft Treaty rests, so far as arbitration is concerned, not upon those solutions initiated under the Bryan régime, but upon others dating from 1908, the work of President Roosevelt and his great Secretary of State, Elihu Root. We have taken literally the text of these 1908 treaties, inserting only one small change. They referred the matters to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, to which we added the alternative, "or to the Permanent Court of International Justice," since there are now two courts at The Hague, whereas in Roosevelt's time there was only one. We did not even go so far as President Taft attempted to carry Congress in his effort to make arbitration more

inclusive, but left the limitations which Congress had imposed and which at the time excited the animated criticism of President Roosevelt himself.

This should dispose of the subsequent statement of Professor Hart in a later paragraph, where he argues that the United States would never arbitrate questions like that of Oriental immigration. With this theory the Draft Treaty is so fully in accord that it expressly provides against the very thing Professor Hart has in mind. Article VI states that:

The High Contracting Parties agree to submit disputes arising between them to arbitration, judicial settlement or conciliation as set forth in the following articles of this treaty, provided that the dispute does not concern a matter which under international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of one of the High Contracting Parties.

This definite exception of matters of domestic jurisdiction was expressly inserted to make sure that there would be no doubt as to the proper limits of arbitration or other such procedure. It is inconceivable to me that a serious student of politics should attempt to discuss a document without apparently reading one of the major clauses.

This same comment applies to the last sentence of Professor Hart's article: "The public is justified in expecting before long another pronunciamiento aimed to compel the Government to adopt a plan of adjustment of the Monroe Doctrine, which has seemed so secure, by the easy process of 'outlawing war.'" Article 2 (b) of the Draft Treaty has definitely excepted the Monroe Doctrine from this operation.

As for this "easy process of outlawing war," Professor Hart devotes an earlier paragraph (the fourth from the last) to a criticism of its policy. According to him, the "Shotwell plan" merely sets up a machinery for outlawing war and, "Presto! serious international controversies will disappear." The general trend of the Draft Treaty will make a different impression upon any one who takes the time and trouble to read it. Serious international controversies will not disappear from the mere fact of the setting up of a machinery for outlawing war or anything else. I have on every occasion pointed out the difficulty and complexity of the problems involved and have warned readers that the strategy of peace is exceedingly difficult. I have both in this Treaty and elsewhere tried to make clear the fact that nations would not readily submit to international arbitration questions of vital interest and national

honor or of domestic jurisdiction. And yet, from the opportunity which I have had to study at first hand both the history of the World War and the history of international polity since the World War, I am convinced that war cannot any longer be safely used "as an instrument of policy" by the great civilized nations, as has been the case in the past. But there is nothing singular in this, for it is a widespread conviction among students of public affairs, one which has been interpreted time and again by those most competent to deal with the fundamental question of war and peace, the Foreign Ministers of those Governments which have had most experience in this field—the Governments of France, Germany and Great Britain. Happily, the United States has hitherto escaped the necessity of such close and continual preoccupation with questions of peace and war.

The student of politics who fails to grasp the significance of a turn in the world's affairs so vast as this, which has already become a matter of history, may be forgiven if he fails in such a relatively minor thing as the criticism of a single text, and, therefore, I refrain from the temptation to comment on Professor Hart's attempt to connect the Draft Treaty with a theory of the causes of the late war which seems hardly in harmony with what he has written in this very magazine. I should, however, add that I took especial pains to point out that the Draft Treaty was not applicable to situations like that in Asia Minor, to which Professor Hart refers, and that, therefore, once again we have the indication of the failure to read the text.

The Draft Treaty was an attempt to state in simple and definite terms the situation in which this country might find itself if it were to act upon the offer of M. Briand, Foreign Minister of France, when he stated that France was ready to make a treaty with this country which would "renounce war as an instrument of policy." That offer is still before the American people. The

reception which this Draft Treaty of ours has met with in the country at large is already a clear proof that some such action as that indicated by us would meet with almost universal approval in the United States. With the exception of a half dozen newspapers, the editorial comment which has reached me from all over the country has been universally in favor of the principles embodied in this text. The provincial press of the country has been 100 per cent. in favor of the proposition, and articles are still appearing showing a continued public interest.

WHAT THE DRAFT TREATY STANDS FOR

May I, in closing, state that, shorn of all technicalities, the Draft Treaty stands for at least three main principles: (1) the renunciation of aggressive war (or war as an instrument of national policy) expressly legitimizing national defense; (2) the definition of legitimate defense by the provision that the attacked party must offer to submit the dispute to the pertinent means for peaceful settlement, court, arbitration or other established institution of settlement (this by implication also defines aggression); (3) the refusal to aid or abet an aggressor State. The Treaty then indicates the place of arbitration and conciliation tribunals for the settlement of disputes, leaving the signatory free to apply the appropriate machinery with the underlying proviso that in no case will it go to war. At first sight the Treaty might seem incomplete in this regard, as it does not provide compulsory recourse to the judicial settlement. The answer, however, is as simple as it is reassuring. We must not forget that we still have diplomacy, and that diplomacy is developing new forms and greater efficiency in this very field, through the development of the technique of international conference. But this suggestion is already carrying me too far from the purposes of this article, which are merely to call for a critical method in the field of criticism.



Sweden's New Anti-War Treaties

By ELIEL LOEFGREN

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SWEDEN

THE recent Scandinavian pacts of mediation and arbitration are among the most comprehensive and unrestricted that have been signed by two or more countries as part of the general peace agreement that is incorporated in the Covenant which is binding on all members of the League of Nations. In order to give an idea of the significance of the separate agreements, I must first indicate the main features of the general international system of law of which they form a part, and in order to make a comparison I must also touch upon the nature of the different kinds of mediation and arbitration treaties which Sweden had previously signed with other countries.

Our earlier conventions for mediation or arbitration, like those of other countries concluded for the same purpose, differed from the new ones, concluded within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations, first of all in that they did not form a part of any general system of international law. In place of that, the fundamental concept of all the earlier agreements to arbitrate was that the self-interest of each sovereign State was the highest law. To be sure, the older treaties expressed in different ways and to different degrees the wishes of the high contracting parties to settle eventual disputes in a peaceful way. But in view of the fundamental idea just mentioned it was impossible to conclude treaties which closed the way to an ultimate appeal to the sword.

Even in those treaties wherein disputes as to international law were designated as specially adapted for legal settlement, there was always indicated an unwillingness to forego, as a matter of principle, the right to resort to war in all really important disputes without resort to arbitration. A general acceptance in advance of arbitration was regarded as the equivalent of an eventual surrender of national independence and, therefore, as contrary to the Constitution of a free State. In order not to promise too much, exceptions were made for disputes involving a State's "honor," "integrity" and "vital interests" even in cases where incontestably only matters of

law were involved. As a rule the principle of a State's self-interest being the highest law was adhered to so closely that each nation was allowed to decide for itself whether a dispute belonged to those adapted for arbitration or whether it fell within the group of "open" subjects. Of this character were the arbitration treaties concluded by Sweden with the United States in 1908, with Belgium in 1904, with Great Britain in 1904, with France in 1904 and with Portugal in 1905.

Certain treaties of this period prescribed arbitration also in disputes involving national interests, though with exceptions for more important subjects and with the same unrestricted right for each State to define these singlehanded. Of this nature was the Swedish treaty with Brazil concluded in 1909. At times a still wider application of the principle of arbitration was permitted. This was done in two different ways—either by stipulating that certain disputes as to law must be arbitrated, no matter how vital the interests involved, provided the legal principles applicable were clear, as was done in the Swedish arbitration treaties with Switzerland in 1904 and with Spain in 1905, or by requiring that the question, whether a vital interest or not was involved, should be decided by the court of arbitration itself, and not by one of the parties alone. Of this type were the Swedish treaties with Norway in 1905, with Denmark in 1908 and with Italy in 1911. In each of these conventions disputes as to fact as well as to law were referred to arbitration, though with the usual exception for questions involving national independence, integrity and vital interests, but the court of arbitration was given authority to decide whether a dispute should be submitted to arbitration or not, if alleged by either party to affect vital interests. If, on the other hand, one of the parties asserted that its independence and integrity were also at stake, it could determine its position singlehanded and eventually decline to submit to arbitration.

Even in cases where it was a question of referring a dispute to conciliation through a special board or committee without obliga-



ELIEL LOEFGREN

tion to submit to arbitration, there were hesitations about unrestricted agreements. The type of international investigating committees for fact-finding purposes which The Hague Convention of 1907 set up for voluntary use in specific instances, therefore, found their usefulness limited to disputes of decidedly superficial character. Application to such boards did not bind the parties to keep peace with each other even while they were awaiting the outcome of the investigations.

The next step toward organized peace was not taken until shortly before the outbreak of the World War, and this was done by the so-called "Bryan treaties," widely negotiated by the United States. They prescribed obligatory arbitration in disputes as to both law and fact before a permanent board, which itself could take the initiative in bringing a dispute to arbitration regardless of whether or not the dispute involved more or less vital interests. Furthermore, the Bryan treaties required the parties to abstain from declaring war while the arbitration procedure was in process. A treaty of this kind was concluded between Sweden and the United States in 1914.

The great number of arbitration treaties which was negotiated during the first

decade of the present century, with the older Hague Court as their centre, testify to the need which the creation of that court satisfied. The fact that its services were not used more frequently may have been due to various causes—the existence of special arbitration institutes alongside of it, the effect which the mere existence of an arbitration treaty undoubtedly has on friendly settlements through direct diplomatic channels, but also the relatively limited sphere which the treaties described above gave to the court's activities.

OBLIGATORY MEDIATION

It was first through the Covenant of the League of Nations that a general system was instituted with obligatory mediation as a fundamental principle and the preservation of peace as the main goal. The gist of the mediation requirement is that, wherever a court or arbitration procedure has not been tried, an attempt at conciliation according to a definite formula is obligatory whenever a dispute arises which appears liable to cause hostilities between States which are already members of the League or between one of them and an outside Power.

I have already pointed out the fact that, where only a formal conciliation process before a special board was prescribed, the same reservations had not always been made as when it was a question of submitting to a binding arbitration process. On the other hand, this more modest peace instrument—mediation—had hardly been used except in the Bryan treaties by the United States and the States of South America.

The circumstances attendant upon the outbreak of the World War, however, revealed with unusual clarity the desirability of having arrangements and making leeway for investigation and attempts at mediation in the face of threatening war. When, therefore, the League of Nations was formed and President Wilson and the other founders sought to establish provisions to prevent war, if possible, it appeared natural as a first recourse to create, in accordance with the idea of the Bryan treaties, a system requiring unconditionally that after diplomatic negotiations had shown themselves fruitless, the dispute should become the object of a vigorous and authoritative attempt at mediation, and that during these attempts each and every act of war should be forbidden.

The mediation or conciliation process specified in the Covenant of the League is

a principal function of the League and, therefore, not exercised through special boards, just as the organ of mediation is the Council itself, or, in a subsidiary sense, the Assembly. The method of procedure in mediation, on the other hand, is but superficially indicated in the Covenant. Regardless of the nature of the dispute, it is only specified that when a question has been taken up by the Council a report must be made within six months. During this time the parties are allowed to submit their claims, and afterward their arguments may be published by the Council, if judged suitable. In addition, it is only stated that "it is the duty of the Council to attempt to settle the dispute." If successful, it must publish the result. If not, the Council must prepare and issue a report containing the proposals for solution which the Council regards as just and, in the specific instance, proper.

As an illustration of how the Council of the League of Nations deals with a political dispute, the Aaland Islands question may serve. It was brought before the Council by Great Britain as a dispute between Sweden and Finland which might take a course that would endanger peace. In the discussion delegates representing both sides took temporary part, as required in the Covenant, Article 4. After the Council had provided for an investigation of the facts and the representatives of the two parties had expressed themselves in writing, and after a rather brief hearing with both sides present, the Council, on June 24, 1921, announced its unanimous decision, with neither of the interested parties voting, as required by the Covenant. Finland, which at that time was not a member of the League, but which, under Article 17, had been recognized as party to the action, had previously declared it would not accept the decision if it meant loss of sovereignty over the islands. The Council, however, awarded sovereignty over the islands to Finland, though reserving extensive special privileges for the inhabitants. As to the continued neutrality of the islands, which the award also stipulated, there had not, in principle, been any difference of opinion between the interested parties. Sweden declared itself dissatisfied with the verdict, but later it was ratified by both Sweden and Finland, and between them there was signed a formal treaty, in which were incorporated the conditions specified in the Council's report.

As I have already indicated, the Covenant lacks specific directions as to methods

of procedure in mediation, and ever since the foundation of the League attention to this omission has been vigorously called by representatives of Sweden and Norway. The point of their criticism has been that the procedure ought to offer better guarantees for impartiality in the exposition of the dispute, that the investigation of facts ought to be divorced as far as possible from political considerations, and that, above all, there ought to be an opportunity for the two parties to state their cases freely.

PERMANENT CONCILIATION BOARDS NEEDED

In addition to these shortcomings, continually revealed in subsequent mediation proceedings, the need made itself apparent for permanent conciliation boards separately designated beforehand as mediators between States which would be ultimately subject to decisions by the Council. To be sure, the objections to the vague rules of procedure might with some justice be met by the answer that in the last moments of a serious crisis considerable freedom of action is, after all, desirable when the Council must, above all, try to preserve peace.

But this makes it all the more urgent to provide in advance permanent boards whose duties would be to try to settle disputes peacefully at an earlier stage. Obviously it ought to be to the interest of the League's members to clear up their differences directly and thereby escape attracting the world's attention through a ruling by the Council. In fact, disputes should not be referred to the League until they appear liable to endanger peace. The majority of disputes, fortunately, do not have such a malignant character, provided they are dealt with in time. On the other hand, should mediation by a separate board of conciliation fail, no harm can come from having the dispute brought before the Council in a previously prepared state.

The gap which the Covenant left open in regard to such permanent institutes for mediation, the Assembly of the League has acknowledged to exist, and in a resolution passed in 1922 it caused the latter to advocate a strengthening of the investigation and mediation procedure by the creation of permanent boards in accordance with a model for agreements of this kind which the Assembly adopted at the same time. Since then the need has been met to a great extent by separate agreements to refer disputes in the first instance to such mediating bodies.

Sweden, which had entered such an agree-

ment with Chili already in 1920, has since signed treaties of a similar character with Denmark in 1924, with Estonia in 1925, with Finland in 1925, with Norway in 1924, with Latvia in 1925, with Lithuania in 1925, and with Switzerland in 1924. All these conventions are wholly without reservations as to the nature of the disputes, with the exception of those with Estonia and Latvia, which exempt from reference to conciliation boards such disputes as belong under the laws of either country to the jurisdiction of a court.

The Northern countries of Europe have not been content to strengthen their mutual bonds by these treaties of conciliation and arbitration with each other. In recent years they have also signed numerous agreements of corresponding character with countries outside their circle, which, in turn, have been connected by means of corresponding guarantee and arbitration conventions.

The first Swedish agreement of the combined type was the arbitration and conciliation pact with Germany, dated 1924, by which the parties pledged themselves to submit to arbitration or mediation all disputes which within a reasonable time had shown themselves not susceptible of solution by ordinary diplomatic means or for whose settlement no special machinery had already been set up. Since Germany at that time stood outside the League of Nations, this agreement does not belong to the conciliation and arbitration system of the League. At the time of its conclusion, it represented without a doubt a step in advance both by reason of the definite procedure set up and of the extensive jurisdiction attributed, in accordance with a previous German-Swiss treaty, to the court of arbitration with regard to the application of international law.

The combined conciliation and arbitration agreements since concluded have been signed with States which are members of the League of Nations, and they all lack the above-mentioned reservation for disputes involving national independence, integrity, or other vital interests. As far as Sweden is concerned, such treaties have now been signed with Poland on Nov. 3, 1925; with Czechoslovakia on Jan. 2, 1926; with Belgium on April 30, 1926, and with Austria on May 28, 1926. On account of the combined provisions for conciliation and arbitration, they have been entitled "agreements of the Locarno type." With regard to the actual terms, the label is justified only in the case of the pact with Czechoslovakia, but all of

them are, as regards the kind of disputes subject to the procedure, entirely without reservations, with the exception of the one with Poland, according to which the provisions for settlement of disputes by court procedure or arbitration are not applicable to so-called "domestic questions."

TREATY WITH POLAND

Under the Swedish treaty with Poland the conciliation procedure is obligatory in disputes as to national interests and it is to be regularly employed also in disputes as to law, though in that case it may be omitted through a special agreement to that effect. If conciliation fails, all law disputes must be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice or, if one party so insists, to a special court set up for the purpose. All other disputes are to be decided by such a tribunal. This court is to be constituted, unless otherwise agreed, in accordance with the rules of The Hague Convention of 1907 in such a way that each party designates two members and these together elect a fifth.

The Swedish treaties with Belgium and Austria contain in regard to law disputes a provision for a facultative conciliation process before a permanent board. If conciliation does not result, the dispute is to be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In regard to disputes involving national interests, the arrangement is similar to that in the Scandinavian treaties in so far as obligatory mediation is required and, in case it fails, an obligatory submission takes place to a special court of arbitration, set up according to The Hague Convention, which is to judge according to what it considers fair and just. The Belgian treaty is not applicable to conditions which existed before the ratification.

Finally, as concerns the treaty between Sweden and Czechoslovakia, it differs from all the others in that only disputes involving questions of law are subject to an obligatory decision either by the Permanent Court of International Justice or, if the parties agree, by a special court after The Hague model. Before that, however, the parties can agree to have a conciliation procedure applied. All other disputes, meaning those regarding national interests, are first to be submitted to an obligatory arbitration process and, if agreement is not obtained, they are to be referred to the Council of the League.

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

Results of Honolulu Conference on Problems of the Pacific

By GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, CLARK UNIVERSITY; TECHNICAL ADVISER TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION, WASHINGTON DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, 1921

"I HAVE learned more these two weeks than at any time since the Paris Peace Conference." This estimate of the recent sessions of the Institute of Pacific Relations was made by a distinguished member of the British group who has lived for many years in the diplomatic world. This second Conference—the first was held in 1925—met at Honolulu from July 15 to 28 with an attendance of 128 members from China, Japan, the United States, Great Britain, and three British Dominions, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Experts on Pacific issues, university presidents and professors, men and women of affairs, leaders of public opinion from these various countries, discussed together the live problems of the Pacific. Furnished with a mass of books, pamphlets and mimeographed material, prepared during the past months for this occasion, they met at times in small round-table groups, at times in forums of the entire Institute, to study the facts, define the international differences and consider possibilities of adjustment.

With the utmost frankness, but without bitterness, they treated issues which still arouse the deepest national feeling. Across the same table Chinese and British from Shanghai talked of the "massacre of May 30" and Americans and Japanese discussed the immigration "insult." It is clear that more important than a knowledge of the mere facts in these problems is an understanding of the viewpoints and the psychology of the various nations represented. To furnish this understanding has been the greatest single service of the Institute. No resolutions were passed; no formal proposals were advocated, but the members left Honolulu with a sympathetic appreciation of the beliefs and feelings of other Pacific peoples so that in their home lands they would be able to exert a real influence in favor of a more intelligent and unprejudiced treatment of the vital issues of the Pacific and the Far East.

The members of the Institute well represented the professional and influential

classes in their respective countries. The Chinese group, fourteen in number, were all ardent Nationalists, some of them leaders in guiding the moderate wing of the Nationalist party. There were Dr. David Yui, formerly Commissioner of Foreign Affairs in Peking; T. Z. Koo, just returned from the United States, where, on behalf of a large group of Chinese organizations, he had been interpreting, by lectures and interviews, the recent developments in China; Dr. M. J. Bau, the scholarly authority on Chinese foreign relations; and Dean Hung of Yen Ching University. The leader of the Japanese group, the Hon. J. Inouye, was unable to be present, since he had been recently appointed Governor of the Bank of Japan, but his place was taken by Dr. M. Sawayanagi, a member of the House of Peers and the leading educationalist in Japan. Among the others in the Japanese group, eighteen in all, might be mentioned Y. Tsurumi, one of the leaders of liberal Japan; A. Ishii, formerly Vice President of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, and four of the professors in the Imperial University in Tokio, Y. Takaki, K. Takayanagi, S. Nasu and N. Yamasaki. From Great Britain came a group of fourteen, under the leadership of Sir Frederick Whyte, formerly President of the Legislative Assembly of India. Among the others were Lionel Curtis, the head of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London; Viscount Castlereagh, Professor W. J. Hinton of the University of Hongkong, and Professor C. K. Webster of the University of Wales, and Dr. H. T. Hodgkin, well known in missionary circles in China. Of the Dominion groups, the Canadian was led by General Sir Arthur Currie, President of McGill University, Montreal, and formerly Commander of the Canadian forces in France; and the Australian by the Hon. F. W. Eggleston, recently Attorney General of Victoria. The Americans, forty-four in all, with President R. L. Wilbur of Leland Stanford as their Chairman, made up a well-balanced group representing the universities, the professions, business and finance, the churches and women's organizations.

The list would not be complete without mentioning the three members from Korea and the Philippines respectively; and the three official "observers" from the League of Nations.

These groups did not live and work each by itself, as is usual in an official diplomatic conference. Following the custom at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, all the members roomed in the dormitories of the Punahou School, the home of the Conference during its sessions; and all dined together as a large family, no national grouping being permitted. These natural and agreeable social contacts between different nationals, at table and in the informal after-dinner chats on the broad verandas, prevented the formalism of an official gathering, and developed a spirit of mutual respect, confidence and friendliness, almost essential for the frank discussion of delicate international problems.

THE CHINESE SITUATION

The situation in China was clearly the foremost issue before the Conference; it almost dominated the interest and the thought of the members. The Chinese present, whom all admired and liked, were a living evidence of the genuineness and intensity of Chinese Nationalism; they left no doubt that, though their country is divided between military overlords, it is completely united in its demands for its full rights as a sovereign State, and for the abrogation of the old unequal treaties with the Powers.

In the discussions it soon appeared that the issue was keenest between the British and the Chinese, since the latter have not yet forgiven the brutalities and indignities, as they regard them, of such incidents as that of May 30, 1925, in Shanghai, the Shamen shooting in June, 1925, and the Wansien bombardment of 1926. For all of these they regard the British as primarily responsible. There was no doubt of the intensity of the anti-British feeling of the Chinese when they came to Honolulu, nor of the strong desire of the British to reach some friendly settlement of the distressing issues. Notwithstanding the deep sense of wrong which the Chinese felt, they discussed the situation with a moderation, courtesy, fair-mindedness and a willingness to make concessions which won the admiration of the Conference. It must be admitted, however, that the Chinese group contained no Communist, nor the British any treaty-port partisan.

A surprising result of the frank studies

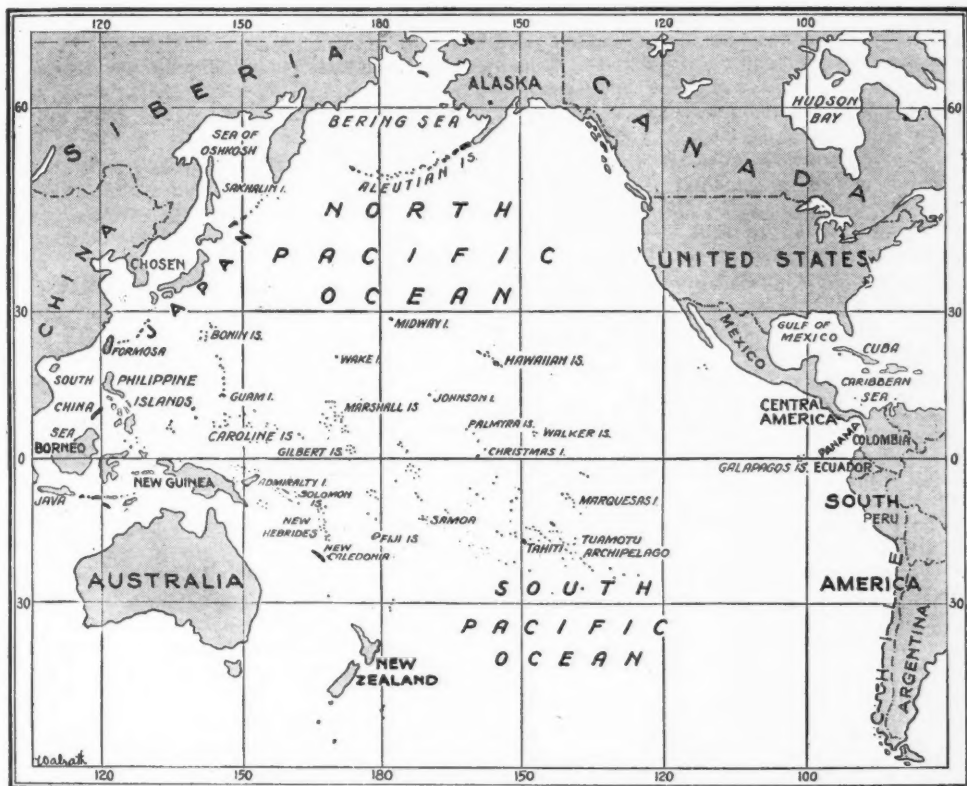
and discussions of the three major problems between China and the Powers—tariff autonomy, extraterritoriality, and treaty-port concessions and settlements—was the evident fact that the Chinese and British groups, if they had been given the authority, could have reached agreements on these outstanding issues; and that such agreements would probably, with some modifications, have appeared acceptable to the Japanese and the American members.

From the official declarations of the Powers, supplemented by the statements of various members of the Conference, it appears that Great Britain, Japan and the United States are now willing to grant China full control of its tariff, provided new treaties for this purpose may be negotiated, and, provided further in the case of Japan, that a reciprocal convention should be made maintaining low import duties on certain commodities, such as low grade cotton cloth, which Japan is now exporting to China in large quantities. China evidently will agree to such a tariff convention.

As to extraterritoriality, a detailed agreement could doubtless be worked out which would grant, in principle, the Nationalist demand for full jurisdiction over all foreigners in China and, at the same time, provide the essential detailed safeguards for the foreigners pending the time when the Chinese judiciary may properly be given control over British, American and Japanese nationals. A suggestion was made by some of the members that treaties should be supplemented by an exchange of notes which should maintain certain exceptional privileges still regarded as necessary for the protection of the nationals of these Powers.

In regard to the remaining concessions and settlements in the treaty-ports, there would appear to be no insuperable difficulty in reaching an agreement, even in the case of the International Settlement in Shanghai. The general principles already adopted by the British and the Chinese in instituting new administrations in the former British concessions in Hankow and Tientsin could be applied even in Shanghai—new municipal councils, half Chinese and half foreign, with some arrangement in the case of Shanghai for the creation of a government for greater Shanghai which should have jurisdiction over all common interests of the five municipalities which constitute the Shanghai area, reserving to the International Settlement the control over its local municipal affairs.

The Chinese people, then, are insistently making demands which the Powers are evi-



Map of the Pacific showing the countries in or bordering on that ocean

dently now willing, even anxious, to grant in such a large measure that it will satisfy the Chinese. Yet apparently nothing can be done because of the diplomatic difficulties. Each of the Chinese Governments, at Peking, Nanking, and Hankow, regards itself as the Government of all of China. There is no single Government with which the Powers may negotiate the treaties. The three Chinese factions refuse to unite in appointing a joint commission for treaty-making, and negotiations with the rival Governments simultaneously would appear to be diplomatically hazardous.

Yet delay appeared to the Conference to be dangerous. The Chinese frequently pointed out that delay strengthens the radical and Communist elements in their country, handicaps the moderate Nationalists in their efforts to control the situation, and increases the likelihood that China, its patience exhausted after years of pleading, will by its own action cancel all special foreign privileges. They stated that the Peking Government, the most conservative

of the three, had already officially declared that, with or without the consent of the Powers, it would exercise full control over its tariff on Jan. 1, 1929. Should China also attempt by unilateral action to subject all foreigners to its courts and to take over the administration of the International Settlement in Shanghai, this would, in the view of the Powers, constitute a clear violation of treaty rights, aggravating the situation and resulting possibly in serious consequences. Yet this appears to be the result to which delay is leading.

Should the Nationalists capture Peking in the near future there would then be a Government sufficiently representative of all China to warrant the Powers to negotiate new treaties with it. But if the present anomalous and diplomatically dangerous situation should continue much longer, it would present a problem which the British at least are determined, it seems, to settle in some way, no matter how many diplomatic precedents are broken in the process.

As to the American attitude, the Chinese

Conference members regarded it as legally correct, but formal and cold. They stated that the Chinese people still looked to America as their best friend, and they coveted some tangible evidence, even if merely a diplomatic gesture, which would, in the words of Dr. David Yui, "make plain the true friendship which the American people have for China and the Chinese people in their struggle to reconstruct their nation on democratic lines." In the American group there was considerable sympathy with this point of view.

JAPAN'S PERPLEXITIES

The problems of Japan may be less acute than those of China, but they impressed many in the Conference as being more difficult of solution. The basic problem is that of population and food supply, a subject impressively presented by Professor Nasu of the Imperial University at Tokio. The population of Japan, he pointed out, has doubled in the past sixty years, until today, in the proportion of persons to the amount of arable land, four to every acre, it is the most densely inhabited country in the world. With an annual increment of some 700,000, "the increase of national income is becoming inadequate to support the increasing population with the advancing standard of living." Neither the amount of arable land nor the yield per acre can be much expanded. The annual output of minerals is nearly stationary, and the outlook for a marked development in the industries is not promising. There is little likelihood of a substantial decline in the birth rate within the near future, even should birth control be gradually introduced. Emigration, should other countries permit it, could not be carried out on a sufficiently large scale to relieve the situation. No solution yet suggested appears adequate to solve the problem. The population will increase; the national income appears relatively stationary. "Here lies the most vital question of present-day Japan in its most rudimentary form."

This problem of population and food supply determines Japan's policy toward China. It is China which has the raw materials, especially iron ore, the most essential for Japan's industries; it is China, with its 400,000,000 possible purchasers, which offers the greatest potential market for Japan's manufactured goods. How is Japan to develop these necessary economic ties? The older policy of the Twenty-one Demands, it was pointed out, has for some years been abandoned for a policy of

friendship. As Mr. Tsurumi expressed it, "even viewed entirely from a materialistic point, Japan needs and covets the friendship of China. * * * Even the hardest-boiled Nationalists of Japan agree on this point."

The Chinese members, however, seemed to regard the recent dispatch of 4,300 Japanese troops to Shantung by Baron Tanaka, the new Japanese Premier, as evidence of a different policy. They suspected that its real motive was to check the advance of their Nationalist army to Peking and thereby protect the Japanese interests in Manchuria. But a Japanese spokesman insisted that this small force was solely for the protection of Japanese residents, and gave evidence by quotations from many Japanese newspapers, that Japanese public opinion was strongly opposed to any militaristic or unfriendly policy in China. It was stated, further, that the most popular Chinese in Japan was General Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Nationalist army [who has since resigned]. In Manchuria, Mr. Tsurumi stated, Japan's primary and sole interests were economic: "Japan has never questioned the sovereignty of China over it and hopes that all the complicated problems can be solved by patience and fair play."

With the United States Japan's two issues were China and immigration. As to China one of the Japanese members said: "Rightly or wrongly, some Japanese have felt that America has been supporting China in order to weaken Japan, and it is very desirable for Americans to keep this in mind and try to clear the clouds of suspicion by their fair statement of policies." But the immigration issue is the more important. This whole question, in its economic and social as well as political aspects, was discussed by the entire Conference in both round-tables and general forum. The diverse viewpoints were well represented; Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary of the California State Federation of Labor and a leader in the Japanese exclusion movement, was a frequent speaker. The most significant fact which developed—one of the most important of the Conference—was that the Japanese people refused to regard the statutory exclusion of 1924 as "a closed incident." Their attitude was clearly expressed by Mr. Ishii:

Japan does not demand the privilege of sending her surplus population to the United States when the United States does not wish it. What the Japanese people resent is the openly offensive manner in which the gentlemen's agreement was abrogated, and the discriminatory treatment accorded our nationals in the Immigration act of 1924. I

think I am voicing the sentiment of our people when I say that I hope the United States will take some active step to solve this question. I appreciate very much the statement of President Wilbur, suggesting the adoption of a quota basis. Some such kindly gesture on the part of the United States will go a long way toward the solution of this unhappy affair, healing the injury inflicted on our national pride.

No member of the Conference could doubt the deep sense of injustice felt by the Japanese members regarding this matter, nor fail to admire their self-restraint and moderation in the discussions.

PEACE PLANS FOR THE PACIFIC

Considerable attention was given to a study of the international machinery for settling issues which might arise between the States bordering the Pacific and for maintaining peace in the Pacific area. Mr. Eggleston, of Australia, presented a plan for complete regional disarmament of naval forces, both war vessels and naval bases. He contended that without bases in and about the Pacific, no naval force from the Atlantic or the Indian Ocean could traverse the immense distances in the Pacific and carry on naval operations.

More hopeful than regional naval disarmament seemed, to most of the members, the plans for treaties of arbitration and conciliation. The need for such treaties appeared evident when it was realized that the countries of the Pacific were much less well provided with such safeguards of peace than those of the Atlantic. Professor James T. Shotwell advocated the adoption by Japan and the United States of the draft treaty which he recently suggested for France and the United States, and which has received wide support in the American press. The two nations would pledge themselves that in no case would they go to war with each other, and that they would refer to some form of arbitration, conciliation, or judicial settlement all controversies which might arise between them except those concerning the Monroe Doctrine, domestic questions, and vital interests. This proposal seemed to meet the approval, at least in principle, of a large number of the Conference; but the Japanese spokesmen, though viewing it with favor, explained that the Japanese public had not as yet given much thought to such an international undertaking and queried whether Japan's regional policies should not receive the same consideration as the Monroe Doctrine, and doubted the wisdom of entirely excluding from the

field of international conciliation all issues regarded as domestic.

A further proposal was made to extend the scope of the Four-Power Treaty made at the Washington Conference between the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France, which, in its present form, is limited in its application to the islands within the Pacific Ocean. By the terms of the agreement the signatories are pledged to refer any difference between them which relates to the islands and which they cannot settle by diplomacy to a conference of the four Powers "for consideration and adjustment." The recommendation that this pact should be widened to include other Pacific States and all, or nearly all, issues between them was well received. Sir Frederick Whyte said: "I believe that the Four-Power treaty is a great structure of peace for the future."

The suggestion frequently made that the League of Nations is the natural agency for the settlement of the international issues of the Pacific struck sparks from some of the American members. It must have been evident to all that since the United States is one of the leading Pacific Powers, any serious proposal to refer the political problems of the Pacific to an organization of which it is not a member would not be viewed with enthusiasm by the American people as a whole.

THE PHILIPPINES

The problem of the Government of the Philippines was not discussed in the Conference, but the American and Philippine groups considered it by themselves, and adopted a novel proposal for dealing with it. The two groups joined in recommending that an unofficial conference be held of Americans and Filipinos, to be appointed by outstanding civic organizations in the two countries, "to consider the Philippine problem and, if possible, come to an agreement with respect to the principles which should govern the future political relations of the two countries."

A distinct Philippine problem affecting the Pacific Coast was called to the attention of the Conference. Fifty thousand Filipinos are in the Hawaiian Islands, most of them having come as plantation laborers within the past half dozen years; and 30,000 are now in California. This situation appears to California labor leaders as another Oriental menace, and they are already considering plans for combating it.

HONOLULU, T. H., AUGUST, 1927.

Our Greatest Economic Problem

By VICTOR M. CUTTER

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED FRUIT COMPANY

HISTORY, not alone of our own country, but of all countries, shows that the visit of prosperity is never prolonged beyond a few years at a time. Then comes a period of depression, which in turn yields to new periods of prosperity. And all our statistics, all our knowledge of recent years, fail to help us control these situations or to settle the much debated question of the cause that brought them about. But this much we do know. The great commercial nations share intimately in each other's prosperity and suffer from each other's reverses, and to those of us who control our expectations by experience and who plan, not for this year but for decades ahead, it is apparent that we shall have to pay more attention to the discovery of those causes which have to do most intimately with our national life and welfare.

If we trace back the commercial history of the United States since the adoption of the Constitution, it will be seen that the indomitable spirit of our people is evidenced by the renewed activity, the tremendous gains made in economic prosperity which invariably follow the major wars in which this country has been engaged.

The funding scheme adopted by the national Government after the Revolutionary War, abundant crops and the recovery of foreign trade all contributed to an era of good times which was so pronounced that a committee of titled Englishmen who visited the United States in 1790 stated that the people of this country were better clothed and shod, lived in better houses and ate better food than did the people of England. After the war of 1812, it is true, our manufactures were curtailed by a flood of imports, but there was an enormous cotton crop; wheat prices were high, and in 1816 a great extension of cotton acreage was noted. In fact, crops of all kinds held good on virgin soil for several years, and the country more than held its own in the period of recession which seriously affected European countries at the close of the Napoleonic wars. In 1849—the year after the Mexican War—gold was discovered in California, there was tremendous national expansion, railroad construction was begun, crops were excellent and a five-year period of good times was enjoyed. Cotton prices soared.

Unparalleled growth and development of our country followed the Civil War. Despite the tightness of gold, transcontinental railroads were built, the winning of the West proceeded apace and cotton was still king. A tremendous expansion in trade and commerce followed the war with Spain.

The aftermath of the World War is so near as hardly to require comment. We can visualize the extraordinary activity which followed a very brief period of uncertainty: the tremendous building revival, the activity in rails and industrials, the good crops of wheat, cotton and corn, the output of new securities, the determination everywhere evidenced to succeed as admirably in commerce as we had succeeded in war.

These post-war periods of good business show plainly that the courage and determination of the American people to succeed are, after all, our greatest national asset; and also indicate that our national ability to stage a quick "come-back" has hinged on the exploitation of our national resources, bumper wheat crops, cotton—always cotton—lumber, gold, silver, iron, coal, oil and more oil, produced by the richest, most prolific country the world has ever known.

From a population of 4,000,000 in 1790, we have reached the total of 110,000,000 in 1927, and whereas there were four people to the square mile in 1790, today there are thirty-six. In the imperfect records of the times it is asserted that in 1790 less than one-eighth of the working population of the United States was engaged in manufacturing, fishing, navigation and trade. We were an agricultural people. In 1820 the census reveals that 14 per cent. of the population was engaged in mechanical industries. We still leaned heavily on agricultural products, but in 1920 the number of people engaged in manufacturing was greater than that of those tilling the soil.

Today 26 per cent. of our people are farmers, 33 per cent. engage in manufacturing and mining and 17 per cent. in trade and transportation. Since factory methods of production began to prevail in 1840, our nation has forged ahead; at first slowly, then more rapidly, until today our mills and factories predominate to such an extent that the grave question to be answered is,

"Is there sufficient consuming power to absorb present day production without throwing out of gear the industrial and commercial machinery, not alone of our own country but of the world?"

THE PROBLEM OF OVER-PRODUCTION

The situation has been intelligently met by American business men. In no country have the problems connected with standards of living, the wage scale, the adoption of a general helpful attitude toward the improvement of economic problems been so well met as in the United States. The attitude of our manufacturers and business men has contributed greatly to the general prosperity we have enjoyed, but we have reached a point where we are faced with the spectre of over-production, and as we begin to accumulate surplus, our problem is that of distributing and merchandising our surplus, not only by increasing the consuming power in local markets, but by acquiring and building up markets all over the world. If our problem were national only, the solution would be simple. Governmental restraint and cooperation in our industries might be employed, but our responsibilities are world wide, for the markets of the world are now one market and individuals, corporations and nations buy and sell all over the world.

The greatest and most complicated problem is international commerce. In the final solution it will be placed upon a just and sound basis, not by the judicial acts of the governments concerned, but by the establishment of intimate and friendly trade relations between manufacturers. Twenty years ago there were those who preached economic independence. Today, the folly of this doctrine is apparent to everyone. We have created a demand for so large a proportion of manufactured products which we must import that we lose our independence upon this count alone.

Our greatest industrial organizations, those least subject to fluctuations in earning power and the steadiest in the payment of dividends, are those which possess a world market—steel, oil, electric, cable, telephone, photography. Business creates business, and it follows very logically that the greatest producing country, for purposes of stability and expansion, should have the widest markets. As a business expands, its chief concern is the development of new markets in order that local competition and local depression may have less effect. Ten years ago the president of one of the largest automobile manufacturing organiza-

tions in the United States expressed his personal opinion that the saturation point for automobiles had about been reached. At that time there were around 8,000,000 cars in the United States. Today there are 20,000,000 cars in use, and who shall say whether or not the saturation point has been reached?

We do not know how much higher our own consuming power—already the highest in the world—may be driven. Nor do we know the exact methods for increasing it. But we do know that there are in other countries millions of people whose consuming power is far below our own, and it is equally apparent that by sound merchandizing methods and by educational effort directed into the right channels we can raise their purchasing power to a level which more closely approximates our own.

In our desire for foreign trade, in the perfectly legitimate wish to widen our markets, we find conditions are exactly the same as those which govern trade in our own country. We cannot use a foreign market as a dumping ground for surplus products. Satisfactory trade relations are established only when goods which are economically produced in this country are exchanged for goods produced under similar conditions in other countries. And this brings us to a realization of what constitutes foreign trade. We too often visualize foreign trade as exports and imports made directly, which require direct payments and which directly affect the balance of trade between the countries involved. In times gone by we heard a great deal about the "balance of trade," but the fact is today that foreign trade more closely approximates an international exchange of money and commodities exactly similar to economic exchanges which daily occur within any one country. Foreign trade today means a full and free contact with all the countries of the world, and it means that our viewpoint must change from a national to an international one.

FRIENDSHIP, NOT IMPERIALISM, BEST TRADE POLICY

It has been proven time and time again that there is little use in bolstering up foreign trade by Imperialism. In Indo-China, which French influence and laws give preference to France, nearly all the trade of that dependency, both export and import, goes to other countries. Great Britain, with her African possessions, has rather less than 1 per cent. of their foreign trade. And it is a fact that our own Philippine



VICTOR M. CUTTER

Islands have never been profitable as a possession.

There is also another factor of which sight must not be lost. We must not do anything to cause a lowering of our wages or our standards of living. In other words, if the removal of tariff restrictions involves a lowering of our standards of living, we should accept the handicap of retaining the tariff, though it hurts our foreign trade.

It must be made plain that there is no panacea in the shape of governmental regulation or judicial action which can build up and maintain friendly trade relations with any country. The development of foreign trade will come slowly over a long period of years. Its development will require attention, good-will and all those amenities which characterize the development of satisfactory trade relations in our own country.

If we face present conditions squarely, it will readily be seen that we may dismiss Europe from consideration as an immediate market in our desire for trade expansion. For years to come there will be the usual interchange of manufactured goods and a certain absorption by that continent of our

raw materials, but the probabilities for vastly increased trade are not there. If present indications are to be accepted at face value, it is possible that within five years one-half of the world's trade will be outside Europe. At present about 80 per cent. of our foreign investments are outside of Europe. The other three great centres of population, Africa, Asia and South America, which contain the greater part of the world's population and therefore the potential bulk of its consuming power, will widen into those markets where our capital, methods of production, manufactured goods and surplus raw materials can be profitably used. It is a matter of education; of the raising of standards of living, of super-salesmanship directed into right channels.

The trade field at present displaying the least sign of resistance is Latin America. Our great opportunity lies there! It is most favorably situated from a geographic and political standpoint and its countries are, and will be for years to come, agricultural. They need our manufactured goods. There is a constant and ever-growing market for them. The automobile has started an era of good road building, the essential factor in releasing the vast potential wealth of these countries. It is altogether safe to predict that there will be a greater growth in Latin American trade in the next ten years than has been experienced since the Spanish Conquest.

Take the example of my own organization, the United Fruit Company. Fifteen years ago we did a general merchandise business of \$3,000,000 in the undeveloped coastal regions which surround the Caribbean. Today we are doing a business of \$10,000,000 and there has been no appreciable increase in population. The increase has been made by educational methods, by learning what these people wanted and giving it to them, and by good salesmanship, increasing their purchasing capacity.

This method is a key to the entire situation of foreign trade. We have half the gold supply of the world. Nearly all our industries are complaining of over-production. We have fairly well exploited our national resources. There seems to be a consensus that we cannot find outlets for our surplus capital in our own country. The answer is that we must seek and build up world markets, and that our trade policies must be built along the line of exchanging goods with undeveloped countries.

The Battle of Jutland:

Fact Versus Fiction

By THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM

CAPTAIN, U. S. R., AUTHOR OF *The Naval History of the World War*

THE recent publication in Great Britain of the "Harper Report" on the Battle of Jutland has had the effect of fanning into fresh flame the fires of the Jutland controversies. Not that the report itself can be said to contain any incendiary material, for this document from the past is a mild and harmless product. But everything published as to Jutland is used by the disputants for the one purpose of providing fuel for their controversies. This report, *The Record of the Battle of Jutland*, was prepared under the direction of Admiral (then Captain) J. E. T. Harper, R. N., by order of the British Admiralty in 1919. Upon completion, it was not given to the public; instead, the British Admiralty published in 1920 a blue book, *The Battle of Jutland*, which contained the official dispatches of 1916. As their explanation for publishing this blue book instead of the "Harper Report," the British Admiralty gave to Parliament the following statement on Nov. 22, 1920: "The reason for not publishing Captain Harper's summary of events was * * * that a record based on British Official evidence only would inevitably present a one-sided version * * *." Admiral Harper, in a controversial booklet, *The Truth About Jutland*, published when his report was given out this year, implies that his report has been withheld from the public all this time because Admiral Beatty has been First Sea Lord of the Admiralty until this year.

It is unfortunately true that, without any rhyme or reason, the bitter controversies over Jutland have become a blind quarrel between the partisans of Jellicoe, on the one hand, and the partisans of Beatty, on the other. But it is also true that any British narrative of Jutland compiled from "British Official evidence" in 1919 was bound to be "one-sided." This was not for controversial reasons, but because no one in the British Fleet had understood the tactics of the German Fleet in the Battle of Jutland. As a result, the British were so lacking in knowledge of what the Germans were doing at the most important stage of

the action that it was impossible in 1919 for the British Admiralty to give a narrative of the real course of the battle. It was not a question of "holding back the true facts"; it was a case of not knowing the true facts. The "Harper Report" is the product of that situation. It is merely a summary taken, with a commendable absence of bias, from the British official reports of 1916, which were published in full in the Admiralty's blue book of 1920. For this reason, the "Harper Report" was compiled from insufficient data. This precludes it from being an adequate account of the Battle of Jutland, and it adds nothing at all to our present knowledge of the great naval action.

The Battle of Jutland was first correctly analyzed in the United States, in regard to the movements of both the German Fleet and the British Fleet. For a long time no advance in this direction was made in Great Britain, and it was mainly through the efforts of Lord Sydenham, by means of questions in the House of Lords, that the British Admiralty at length conformed to this analysis. On March 2, 1922, the representative of the British Admiralty, in answer to one of Lord Sydenham's questions in the House of Lords, stated that information had been received "which had rendered necessary a revision of the charts * * * as a result of the further information, and in order to elucidate the course of the action more fully the scope of the work had been considerably extended." These extensive changes were embodied in Sir Julian Corbett's last volume of *Naval Operations*, which was completed just before the death of the British Admiralty's official historian. In 1924 the British Admiralty published its own *Narrative of the Battle of Jutland*, with these changes made a part of the account of the action and shown on the charts. But, most unfortunately, those in control of preparing this official *Narrative* also included in the text of their account of the battle a constant stream of comment, which went far beyond explanations and into controversies.



Keystone

ADMIRAL JELlicoe,
Commander-in-Chief of the British Fleet at
the Battle of Jutland

This was so marked a fault in what should have been an unbiased official narrative of facts that it impaired greatly the value of the Admiralty's own statements. The result was, instead of giving a suitable official basis for agreement, the Admiralty's *Narrative* had just the opposite effect, for it provided new subjects of controversy between the warring factions in the British Navy.

Things have now come to a pass where there is real need to get back to common sense. The best way to accomplish this, strange as it may seem that one is obliged to say so, is the simple process of keeping in mind that the Battle of Jutland itself was actually fought by the rival leaders and naval forces of May 31, 1916, and not by any one else! With this, the other essential fact must be kept in mind, that the great naval action took place on that day under conditions existing on that day and not on any other day in history. If we insist on this basis of fact we shall get rid of an accumulation of imaginary situations which have been created since the battle, distortions of facts, game-board speculations, versions artificially adapted

to ex parte special pleadings—the mass of fiction which has been woven about the Battle of Jutland. By the mere common sense of harking back to the men of the battle and to the day of the battle all the controversies over the action will be automatically thrown out of court, for it is a true statement to say that the controversies over Jutland are founded on fictions, not on facts. The actual facts as to the events of the Battle of Jutland are so self-evident that there is no ground for controversy. Partisans have managed to keep the quarrel alive only by clinging to discredited tales, which are as extinct as the dodo. It is only the clamorous reiteration of these fictions that has caused confusion as to the facts, and this artificially produced confusion is the only "mystery" of Jutland.

The true events of the Battle of Jutland were made all the more clear because both the British Fleet and the German Fleet followed courses of action carefully laid down in advance. Consequently we have the unusual basis for knowledge that, in addition to its being a battle of May, 1916, fought by the men of May, 1916, the Battle



Wide World

VICE ADMIRAL BEATTY,
Commander of the British battle cruisers at
the Battle of Jutland

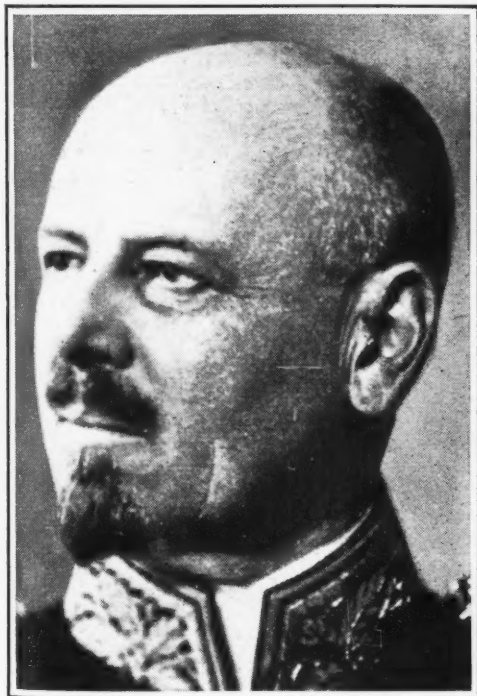
of Jutland was controlled by preconceived tactics which had been adopted for use in May, 1916. The characteristics and influences which have been read into the texts of controversial theses since that time have nothing whatever to do with the situation of May, 1916.

On the British side a definite policy of caution had been adopted for the "contemplated conduct of the Fleet in action." This was founded on the theory that the Germans would "rely to a very great extent on submarines, mines and torpedoes, and there can be no doubt whatever that they will endeavor to make the fullest use of these weapons in a fleet action, especially since they possess an actual superiority over us in these particular directions." This cautious policy for the British Battle Fleet was made a matter of record in a written statement prepared by the British Commander-in-Chief and formally approved by the British Admiralty on Nov. 7, 1914. The quotations are from this statement and note of approval, and a most significant sentence was: "If, for instance, the enemy battle fleet were to turn away from an



ADMIRAL SCHEER,

Commander-in-Chief of the German Fleet at the Battle of Jutland



VICE ADMIRAL VON HIPPER,

Commander of the German battle cruisers at the Battle of Jutland

advancing fleet, I should assume that the intention was to lead us over mines and submarines, and should decline to be so drawn." This predetermined cautious policy, adopted by the British Admiralty for the conduct of the British Battle Fleet in action, controlled absolutely the British tactics in the North Sea to the end of 1916. There were three occasions which offered the possibilities of actions between capital ships in the North Sea, and each time this cautious policy directed the movements of the British naval forces:

In the Dogger Bank action (Jan. 24, 1915) Vice Admiral Beatty, in command of the Battle Cruiser Fleet which was pursuing an inferior force of German battle cruisers, suddenly turned his whole force sixteen points, at right angles to the chase. This act broke off the pursuit, because he thought a submarine was present. It was a false alarm, as no U-boats were with the German battle cruisers. The second meeting of capital ships was the Battle of Jutland, and the effects of this adopted policy

of caution will be shown later in this article. The third occasion was the sortie of the German High Sea Fleet of Aug. 18-19, 1916, when the British Commander-in-Chief reported that it was "unwise to pass over the waters occupied," as he had again been obliged to use caution because "the ease with which the enemy could lay a submarine trap for the Fleet had been demonstrated on the 9th of August." (J)¹

The full text of this statement of the policy adopted for the conduct of the British Battle Fleet, with the approval of the British Admiralty, is given in *The Naval History of the World War* (by the present writer), and any one desiring to understand the Battle of Jutland should study it carefully, as perhaps never in history did the conduct of a fleet in action follow so closely a predetermined course.

GERMANS' NAVAL STRATEGY

On the part of the Germans the change in naval strategy, which brought about the Battle of Jutland, was the result of the action of the United States in the Sussex case. The German Imperial Government had been about to disregard the pledges exacted from it by the United States after the Lusitania crisis, and there was to be a resumption of unrestricted U-boat warfare. The inexcusable torpedoing of the Sussex had brought a sudden ultimatum from the United States (April 20, 1916), and, as Admiral Scheer expressed it, the German Government "decided to give in and sent orders to the Naval Staff that submarine warfare was henceforth to be carried on in accordance with Prize Law." This suspension of U-boat warfare made it incumbent upon the German Naval Commander-in-Chief to do something with the German Battle Fleet, and the sortie into the North Sea was the result. Admiral Scheer's object was "to call out a display of English fighting forces as promised by Mr. Balfour," and to compel them "to give battle under conditions favorable to us." Of course, Admiral Scheer could not hope to engage the greatly superior British Grand Fleet in a set battle of broadsides. Consequently, the German Commander-in-Chief had prepared in advance a means of evasion, in case that, instead of encountering the "conditions favorable" to himself of weaker enemy forces, he should meet the overwhelming superiority of the British Battle Fleet. For escape in any such emer-

gency Admiral Scheer had devised a fleet manoeuvre which he himself called a "swing-around." This was a counter-march of a line of warships, effected by preparatory and executing signals, so well coordinated that it was practically a simultaneous turn of all the ships in the line to an opposite direction. This manoeuvre was to be executed under the cover of smoke screens, and it had been rehearsed until the German Battle Fleet was letter perfect. Admiral Scheer's scheme of evasion under the concealment of smoke was especially advantageous, because such a simultaneous turn of warships had been hitherto deemed impracticable, and his enemy would have no idea of what was going on behind the clouds of smoke. With this system of rehearsed tactics, the Germans entered the Battle of Jutland, and these rehearsed tactics were used in the action.

From the foregoing it will be evident that both sides had preconceived ideas, and the battle was destined to follow these ideas. The British reports of the presence of U-boats² were erroneous, and Admiral Scheer has stated in his report that he received no information from outlying U-boats. There was an airplane carrier with the British advance force, but the attempt at observation by airplane was an immediate failure. Admiral Scheer had planned to bring out airships as scouts, but after waiting several days for them to be able to take the air, he made his sortie without them. In the afternoon of May 30 these German airships attempted "long-distance reconnaissance" (S), but Admiral Scheer's report has definitely disposed of them for the day of the battle by stating: "They did not succeed in taking any part in the action which developed soon afterward, nor did they observe anything of our Main Fleet or of the enemy, nor did they hear anything of the engagement." Consequently the Battle of Jutland was not affected by either submarines or aircraft, and all other impressions are mistaken.

The day of the battle was cloudy, but the sun shone through the clouds most of the time. At no time was there anything approaching a heavy sea. Visibility was reported as good in the first stages of the action, but later in the afternoon, there being little wind, mist and smoke hung heavy over the surface of the sea.

On that day there was a situation in the North Sea which cannot be obscured by all

¹The authorities quoted in this article are indicated as follows: Admiral Jellicoe (J); Vice Admiral Beatty (B); Admiral Scheer (S).

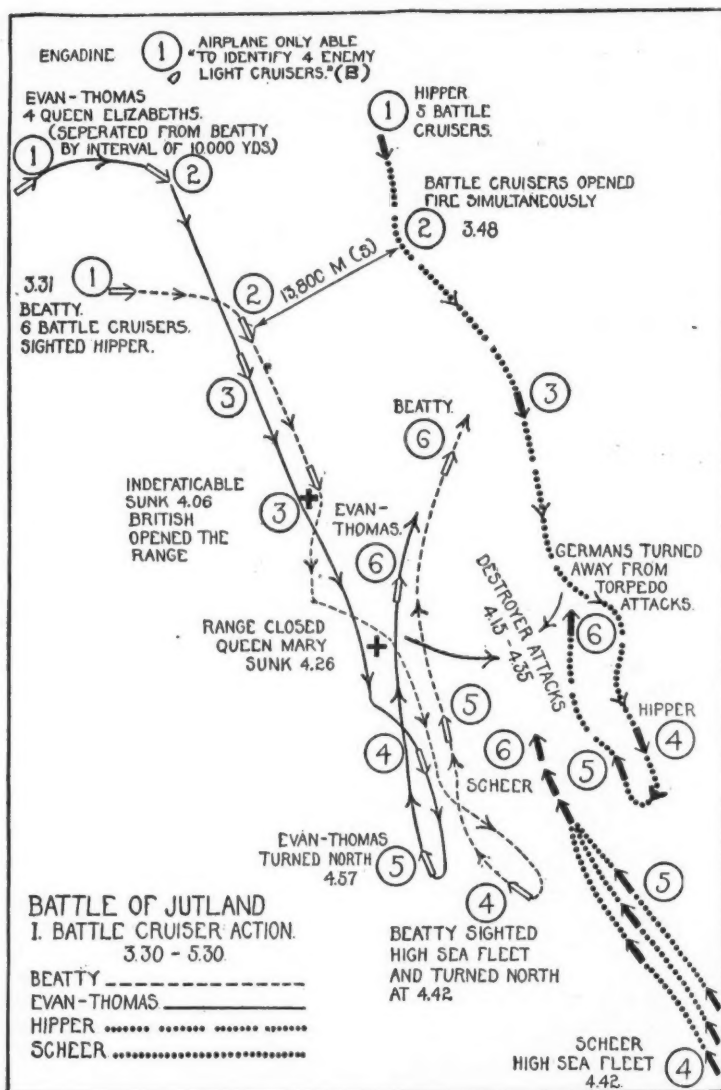
²" * * * Although many submarines were present." Admiral Jellicoe, report.

the misleading fictions which have been written. Irrespective of the movements of the rival commands, the broad condition existed that the weaker German Fleet was in a position where it must engage the overwhelmingly superior British Fleet at a long distance from the shelter of its bases. Any evasion by flight was out of the question, as Admiral Scheer had brought out with him the squadron of slow pre-dreadnought battleships, and this had reduced his fleet speed to 17 knots. The fleet speed of the British Battle Fleet of powerful dreadnoughts was 20 knots. Yet this superior fleet of greater speed failed to impose its strength upon the weaker fleet of inferior speed. That is the underlying tragedy³ of the Battle of Jutland, and that consciousness of failure, which must be explained, is one reason why the British accounts have to deal with justifications and recriminations, thus making their versions a series of arguments instead of statements of facts.

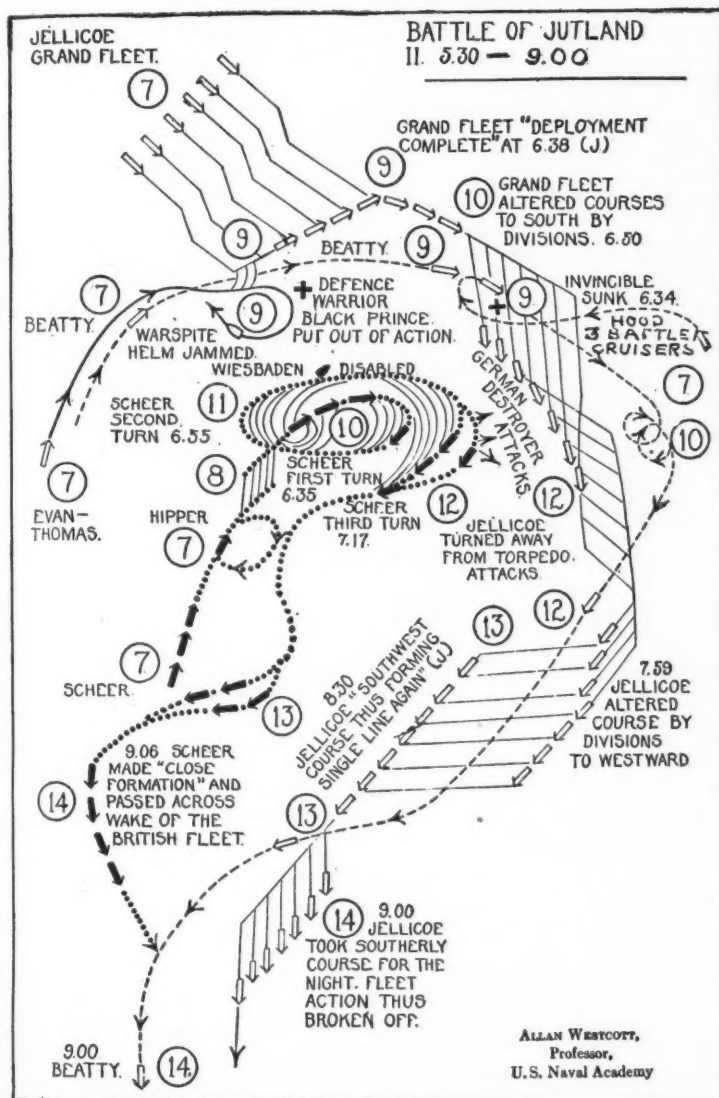
HOW THE BATTLE BEGAN

As is well known, on May 31, 1916, the dispositions of each commander had re-

³"In our long and glorious naval history nothing directly comparable with this tragedy stands recorded."—Lord Sydenham.



Most of the published narratives of the Battle of Jutland have used many charts to trace the course of the action. But it has been found possible to indicate the essentials on this chart and the one on the following page. Especially in regard to avoiding superimposed indications, where ships passed again over the same areas (German ships-right-about, &c.), it will be evident that this chart is diagrammatic only. The figures on this chart of the battle cruiser action (3:30-5:30 P. M.) refer to the following: (1) 3:31 P. M. Beatty sighted Hipper; (2) 3:48 battle cruisers engaged; (3) 4:06 Indefatigable sunk; British opened the range; (4) 4:42 Beatty sighted advancing High Sea Fleet and turned north, column-right-about; (5) 4:57 Evan-Thomas turned north; Hipper had also turned north ahead of the High Sea Fleet; (6) 5:30 Beatty's British advance force pursued by united German forces of Hipper and Scheer. It should be noted that, after the German airships had been kept on the ground by weather conditions, five of these airships were sent up in afternoon of May 31, to scout to northward and westward. "They took no part in the battle that so soon was to follow, neither did they see anything of their own Main Fleet, nor of the enemy, nor anything of the battle" (S).



sulted in an advance force being thrown out ahead of the main body of the fleet. Vice Admiral Beatty's British advance force, six battle cruisers and four 25-knot battleships of the Queen Elizabeth type, came in contact with Vice Admiral Hipper's German advance force of five battle cruisers. This contact brought on the Battle of Jutland, and from its very beginning there arose clouds of fiction.

Nothing could be clearer than the facts as to the opening of the action. It was all "daylight plain sailing," and these facts are matters of indisputable official record. Yet the opening moves have been wreathed in a highly dramatic invention which exceeds poetic license. The actual events were far from being dramatic in their causal sequence. At 2:20 P. M. Vice Admiral Beatty had been informed of the presence of enemy ships. At 2:33 P. M. he had signaled, "Admiral intends to proceed at 22 knots." At 2:39 P. M. he had information that "the enemy force was considerable" (B) and "that it would be impossible to round the Horn Reef without being brought into action" (B). At this time, therefore, Beatty knew he was in an intervening position, and he had attained that advantageous position without the use of high speed, for,

The figures on this chart of the main engagement (5:30-9:00 P. M.) refer to the following: (7) 5:40. From this time Beatty at full speed was turning to easterly courses in search of Jellicoe's Grand Fleet—Hipper was turning to close Scheer—Scheer reducing speed to gather his fleet; Hood had overrun far to eastward; (8) 6:02. German Fleet turned to port, "to render assistance to the Wiesbaden" (S); (9) 6:16. Jellicoe signaled Grand Fleet to deploy on port wing column; Beatty passed across to eastward; Defence, Warrior, Black Prince, put out of action; Warspite out of action; Evan-Thomas turned to take position astern of Grand Fleet; Hood turned back to take position ahead of Beatty; Invincible sunk at 6:34; (10) 6:35. Scheer executed first ships-right-about in smoke screen; Grand Fleet on course to south (6:50); British battle cruisers out of control on turn; (11) 6:55. Scheer made second ships-right-about toward the British Fleet, with attacks of destroyers in advance; (12) 7:17. Scheer made third ships-right-about, to westward; Jellicoe turned away to avoid torpedo attacks; (13) 8:20. Last clash of heavy ships; Jellicoe in single line to southwest at 8:30; (14) 9:00. British moved to southward, breaking off action; Germans made "close formation" (S) at 9:06, and passed across the wake of the British in the night; action of fleets ended

until this stage, his speed had been only 19½ knots. "Course was accordingly altered to the eastward and northeastward" (B). At 2:52 P. M. Beatty made signal for a southeasterly course. At 3:01 P. M. he signaled to alter course to east. At 3:12 P. M. he signaled, "Admiral intends to proceed at 24 knots." At 3:21 P. M. he signaled, "Course N. E., speed 23 knots." At 3:27 P. M. he signaled, "Assume complete readiness for action in every respect." At 3:30 P. M. Beatty, in his own words, "increased speed to 25 knots and formed Line of Battle" to engage.

Consequently, it is a matter of unquestionable record that, from the time of the first information of the presence of enemy warships (2:20 P. M.) it was over an hour before Beatty "increased speed to 25 knots" (B) to engage the enemy. And yet at this time (3:30 P. M.) the four powerful Queen Elizabeth battleships under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas, "who had conformed to our movements, were now bearing N. N. W. 10,000 yards" (B). This statement in Beatty's report meant only one thing, that throughout this long period of manoeuvring at moderate speed Beatty had kept Evan-Thomas "conforming" (B) to his various changes of courses, and separated from his battle cruisers by this interval of 10,000 yards. Moreover, during all this time Beatty had not made one signal to bring this strongest part of his command closer to his battle cruisers. The result was that these four battleships were so far away to N. N. W. that they were useless in the ensuing engagement to S. S. E. We are thus forced to the conclusion that Beatty thought his six battle cruisers would be able to cope with the situation without assistance.

It would seem difficult to go far wrong in describing such simple movements of ships. Yet an altogether imaginary tale of a sudden, impetuous dash at high speed by Beatty's battle cruisers to intercept the Germans has been industriously put into circulation, and still finds credence today. In 1919 this invention was exploited in a book which was given a cachet of artificial importance by the fact that Beatty wrote an introduction for it. This was *The Battle of Jutland*, by Commander Carlyon Bellairs, R. N., and it was frankly an indictment of the British Commander-in-Chief, with a contrasting laudation of Beatty. The following travesty on the actual facts will show the extent to which this was carried in the book: "Beatty, having brought the enemy into action in a position advan-

tageous for cutting them off from the Horn Reef, now reduced speed from 27 knots to 21 knots to enable the four Barhams and their small craft satellites to come up." A comparison with the actual records given above of the speed of Beatty's battle cruisers in his opening manoeuvres will show how utterly contrary to the facts was this version. Yet this fiction has persisted to an astonishing extent. Five years afterward Admiral Bacon, in *The Jutland Scandal*, wrote: "He, full of ardour, raced away * * *. This was the action of an impulsive fighter, not that of an experienced Admiral." And in this year 1927 Winston Churchill has joined the chorus: "But the facts, when at 2:32 Beatty decided that the enemy was present in sufficient strength to justify turning the heavy ships about, made it his clear duty to steam at once and at the utmost speed in their direction. All that impulse, all that ardour gave was no doubt present in the Admiral's mind * * *."

To show the nonsense of all this it is only necessary to point out that after the time given (2:32 P. M.) fifty-eight minutes elapsed, and there were four changes of courses at moderate speed before Beatty "increased speed to 25 knots" (B) at 3:30 P. M. to engage. Regardless of the facts, however, this legend has been reiterated by the partisans of Beatty with unfounded aspersions upon the conduct of Evan-Thomas, in order to give the wrong impression to the public that Beatty's engaging with his battle cruisers alone was an act of impulsive and heroic ardour.

BEATTY'S TASK

This first phase of the Battle of Jutland must be regarded as an action between the rival battle cruisers, for Beatty, by allowing his command to remain divided, had committed himself to a fight in which the far distant battleships of Evan-Thomas would not be able to take any effective part. Under these conditions the test at issue was clear. With Beatty in his interposing position, Hipper could not flee to his main body. He must fight his way in a stand-up battle to a safe junction with the German Battle Fleet. The whole question was whether Beatty would be able to dominate Hipper in this stand-up battle and prevent him from joining Scheer.

In pre-war calculations of strength Beatty's six battle cruisers would have been assigned a superiority of 36 to 25 over Hipper's five battle cruisers. Consequently, on this basis of calculation, Beatty was justified in believing that his British battle

cruisers would be able to defeat the German battle cruisers. But, like many other "on paper" calculations made in the World War, the forecast was not borne out by the event, for it was the British naval force that suffered repulse. The rival battle cruisers opened fire "practically simultaneously" (B) at 3:48 P. M. The trend of the action was S. S. E., since Hipper did not edge away, but maintained his fight on this general course, which was in the direction of the advancing German High Sea Fleet, although this was not apparent to Beatty at the time.

The result was not long in doubt. The Germans at once showed they were superior in range finding. They were able to "get on to their target and establish hitting in two or three minutes of opening fire" (J). In contrast, the British were not at high efficiency in gunnery and overestimated the opening ranges. At 4 P. M. the Lion was heavily hit, and one turret was disabled. Immediately afterward German salvos penetrated the Indefatigable, and she blew up. After this unexpected contretemps Beatty turned away until he was out of range of the German guns. (4:05 P. M.) He closed the range again and the fighting was renewed, only to meet another British disaster, for at 4:26 P. M. the Queen Mary met the same fate by explosion after penetrating hits. It was thus decisively settled that Hipper was to fight his way to a prompt junction with the main German Battle Fleet and that Beatty had failed to stop him by means of the British battle cruisers only. In this phase of the action there had been destroyer attacks by both sides, but they had not affected the screened capital ships.

These were the actual events of Beatty's failure against Hipper. Yet, in accounts of this episode, the same dramatic element has been laid on with an unsparing trowel. Witness this rhapsody in Churchill's book, *The World Crisis*, Vol. 3, as to "the Vice Admiral pacing the bridge among the shell fragments rebounding from the water, and like Nelson of old in the brunt of the enemy's fire. * * * But the movement of these blind, inanimate castles of steel was governed at this moment entirely by the spirit of one man. Had he faltered, had he taken less than a conqueror's view of the British fighting chances, all these great engines of sea power would have wobbled off in meaningless disarray." It is difficult to believe that these mock heroics could have been written seriously, but they are typical of the state of mind of the Jutland partisan.

Hipper thus won his way to a perfect junction with Scheer's advancing High Sea Fleet. The sudden apparition of the German Battle Fleet was a complete surprise to the British, and Beatty signaled by flags, "Alter course in succession 16 points to starboard." This flag signal was seen by Evan-Thomas, when the Lion passed to the north (4:53 P. M.) after the battle cruisers had made their turn. Evan-Thomas then turned his four battleships to the north astern of Beatty's battle cruisers, and, as Admiral Scheer expressed it, "thereby played the part of cover for the badly damaged cruisers." The united German Fleet followed, and the action "developed into a stern chase" (S).

What had been Hipper's object was now transferred to Beatty. Beatty must make every endeavor to gain a prompt junction with Jellicoe's Grand Fleet, which was hastening from the North at utmost fleet speed, in order to impose its overwhelming force upon the Germans. Just as the British had been ignorant of the approach of the German High Sea Fleet, so the Germans were ignorant of the approach of the British Grand Fleet. But an efficient joining of forces proved to be beyond the ability of the British. It was only too evident that methods of communication had not been devised which would insure the coordination of the whole British force. In fact, with the uncertain information Beatty was able to give Jellicoe, any such prompt junction could only have taken place through a miracle of luck. In the actual event, there was an error of over eleven miles to the eastward in location.

VAST AREAS OF MANOEUVRE

If the picture at this stage is visualized, we have no more difficulty in understanding the essentials of the Battle of Jutland. The weather had grown thick, with mist and haze hanging over the sea. We must not think in terms of small dimensions, but we must realize the long miles of ships in formation, wreathed in smoke, over the vast areas of manoeuvre. The two great fleets were approaching each other under conditions that preordained the result. On the British side there was uncertainty for the Commander-in-Chief, not only as to the position of his own fleeing advance force, but also as to the location of the enemy, and always dictating his movements was the prescribed cautious policy for closing an enemy fleet. On the other hand, for the German Commander-in-Chief the German battle cruisers had been turned back to

close his Battle Fleet, and his whole united command was in hand and well disposed to carry out his long rehearsed manoeuvre for turning away in a concealing smoke screen when suddenly confronted by a superior enemy.

These being the actual conditions at the time, nothing can be further from the mark than to say that Beatty "delivered" the German Fleet and led it "into the jaws of the trap." Yet these are familiar reiterations in the Jutland controversies. It is now evident that the Germans were never in danger of being "entrapped." As was inevitable from the British errors and uncertainties in location, the meeting of the fleets was a scene of confusion, and again there were heavy British losses. Three armored cruisers were put out of action,⁴ not aware of the approach of the enemy heavy ships" (J). The battle cruiser *Invincible* also met the same fate, by explosion, which had destroyed the other two British battle cruisers. However, the British losses had not impaired the overwhelming superiority of the British Fleet, and Scheer would have had no chance in a battle of broadsides.

When, however, the German Commander-in-Chief found that he was in the presence of this superior enemy, he made use of his carefully prepared manoeuvre of evasion (6:35 P. M.) and in his own words, "the swing-around was carried out in excellent style." Scheer was certainly justified in adding the statement that "the trouble spent was now well repaid," for this rehearsed manoeuvre of evasion was completely successful. The German Fleet was at once relieved from all pressure of the enemy, as it disappeared in a cloud of smoke, and left the British Commander-in-Chief, who "did not grasp the situation" (S) in ignorance of what had happened behind that smoke screen. After moving off to westward in safety for only twenty minutes, Scheer resolved "to make still further use of the facility of movements" (S). At 6:55 P. M. he again executed his "swing-around" of the German Fleet, and moved straight at the deployed British Battle Fleet, with a torpedo attack of German destroyers thrown out in advance. In accordance with their preconceived tactics, the British Fleet was turned away four points from these German torpedo attacks. Then, for the third time (7:17 P. M.), the German Commander-in-Chief carried out his same manoeuvre of

ships-right-about behind a smoke screen. Again the German Fleet withdrew in safety, leaving a puzzled enemy groping uncertainly at an empty cloud of smoke.

Jellicoe's cautious methods of deploying his Fleet have been the subject of another crop of feckless controversies. All these debates were wasted words. Now that it is known that Scheer came back to contact with the fully deployed British Battle Fleet, the much discussed method of deployment cannot be considered of the importance assigned to it. Even if the British deployment had not come to the Germans in the first place, the Germans had afterward gone to the British deployment, and the German Fleet had not found any difficulty in drawing away from the fully deployed British Battle Fleet by means of their well prepared manoeuvre of evasion.

THE GERMAN "SWING-AROUND"

It is a strange comment on the course of the battle that this thrice executed German "swing-around" of ships-right-about was not understood by any one in the British Fleet. The British chart of the action was signed by Beatty and affixed to his report, and it is typical of all the British charts. None of these showed the German "swing-arounds" until after the corrections were made by the British Admiralty, as has been already mentioned. The strongest testimony as to this ignorance of the British was in Jellicoe's book, published three years after Jutland. In this the British Commander-in-Chief made the positive statement that "altering by turning all the ships together" was out of the question under battle conditions. He wrote this in perfect unconsciousness of the fact that his enemy had carried out just such a turn three times in the action itself!

Of course this fact, that the British had no idea of what the Germans were doing, helped the effectiveness of these rehearsed German manoeuvres. The actual reason for their success, however, was that the Germans created by these means the very situation against which a cautious policy had been prescribed in the doctrines adopted in advance for the conduct of the British Fleet in action, which have been quoted: "If, for instance, the enemy battle fleet were to turn away from an advancing Fleet, I should assume that the intention was to lead us over mines and submarines, and should decline to be so drawn." This preconceived cautious policy was the salvation of the Germans. Scheer himself has stated that the British Fleet might have made an effec-

⁴The Defence was sunk; the *Warrior* sank while an attempt was being made to tow her home; the *Black Prince* was sunk in the night.

tive reply to his manoeuvre "if it had kept firmly to our line."

But the tactics adopted in advance did not permit the British Fleet to close the retiring German Fleet, and from this time the German Fleet was not in great danger, nor even seriously engaged. The rest of the action was merely the story of the British Fleet at a loss, peering into a vast cloud of smoke and mist behind which the German Fleet had disappeared. So utterly did the British fail to feel out the positions of the enemy that only occasionally would the German ships appear and disappear in this concealing cloud. As darkness came on, these tactics on the part of the Germans, with the British fixed idea of the dangers of torpedo attacks, became more and more baffling to the British Commander-in-Chief. And with darkness (9 P. M.) came the decision which ended the Battle of Jutland.

The British Commander-in-Chief has stated that he "rejected at once the idea of a night action between the heavy ships." To the Germans the British had conceded a superiority at night which put this out of the question. Jellicoe himself said: "The German organization for night is very good. Their system of recognition signals is excellent. Ours is practically nil. They use them with great effect. Finally, their method of firing at night gives excellent results." As to the decision to avoid a night action, both Jellicoe and Beatty are on record as being in agreement at the time, and this is one point concerning the battle over which there is no controversy. By order of the British Commander-in-Chief the British Fleet moved through the dark hours "some eighty-five miles" (J) from the battlefield. This must be considered in every sense as breaking off the battle of the fleets, for the British light forces were ordered to conform to the movements of the capital ships. Nor was one of these auxiliaries of the battle fleet given a mission to seek out or keep in touch with the enemy.

ADMIRAL SCHEER'S PURPOSE

On the part of the Germans Admiral Scheer, in the words of the British Admiralty's *Narrative*, "decided to make straight for the Horn Reef in close order during the night, maintaining his course regardless of attacks." He fully expected a night action, but he made the strongest disposition of his Battle Fleet against attacks, and determined to push his way through any opposition the British might offer. But, as the British Fleet had moved away to the south, the German Fleet passed across its

wake to safety. In so doing the German Fleet plowed through straggling British light craft left in the wake of the retiring British Fleet. But there was only isolated fighting, by chance and without coordination or control.

The discussion over the "night action" of the light forces has been voluble, and much paper has also been wasted in controversies as to the "might-have-beens" if use had been made of information of the German positions in the night. But, in regard to both these phases of the Jutland disputes the futility of the debates has been evident beyond any misunderstanding.

THE "NIGHT ACTION"

In the first place, a statement in the British Admiralty's *Narrative* has ruled out completely the "night action": "The flotillas were ordered to take station astern 5 miles, and no instructions were given them to attack the enemy, nor were they informed of the enemy's position. In these circumstances no organized attacks were made in the dark hours." In the same way, speculations as to what might have happened, if use had been made of information giving the positions of the Germans in the night, are also blocked by a dead wall. All such information was precluded from having any effect upon the result, because Admiral Jellicoe had disposed his whole force to keep on through the dark hours on southerly courses, with the fixed determination of not making any move against the enemy until daylight. By the time it became daylight, all such information was doubly of no value; first, because the German Fleet had already passed safely on its way to the Horn Reef; secondly, because there had been much straggling of the British Fleet in the night, and "the difficulties experienced in collecting the Fleet * * * rendered it undesirable for the Battle Fleet to close the Horn Reef at daylight as had been my intention when deciding to steer to the southward during the night. It was obviously necessary to concentrate the Battle Fleet and destroyers before renewing action" (J). Nothing could be more explicit than this. It proves conclusively that there was no possibility of a renewed action between the fleets, no matter what information might have been received. And this disposes of another crop of Jutland fictions.

The foregoing has given the essentials of the Battle of Jutland, and, as has been stated, they are plain for all to read. The facts are not in dispute. It is time to put the battle on this basis of the actual facts

of May 31, 1916. Nothing will then remain of the fictions of the succeeding years. There is no avoiding the conclusion that the British failed to impose their superior force upon the German Fleet for two obvious reasons. In the first place, the British, as the result of preconceived tactics, were not prepared to close a retiring enemy fleet. In the second place, the Germans had made special preparations to render the problem against a retiring enemy fleet more difficult. Therefore, the blame for failure should be given to these tactics prescribed in advance by the approval of the British Admiralty. It is unjust to charge the responsibility against the brave men who fought the battle.

TRAGEDY OF BRITISH FAILURE

The mistaken idea that the Battle of Jutland had such an effect upon the German Fleet that "it never came out" is another of the fictions of Jutland. The sortie of Aug. 18-19, 1916, has been described. After the end of 1916, the German Fleet continued to be a most active force in the

war, keeping a wide area in the North Sea cleared for the egress and the entrance of U-boats in the great German campaign of unrestricted warfare. For this reason, the British failure to win a decision in the Battle of Jutland became more and more disastrous to the Entente Allies as time went on, for it was only by this active use of the German Fleet that the U-boat campaign could be carried on. Another result of the Battle of Jutland has not been duly appreciated. Instead of having any ill effect, the action gave to the German Navy so great a prestige that the German Naval Staff gained the influence necessary to win their argument for the adoption of the policy of the German Navy for unrestricted U-boat warfare. Consequently, not only did the German Navy emerge from Jutland with the naval forces necessary to maintain the U-boat campaign, but also with the added power necessary to bring about the adoption of the unrestricted U-boat campaign. This is the true measure of the tragedy of the British failure to overwhelm the German Fleet at the Battle of Jutland.



Fateful Documents of the World War

First Publication of Facsimiles of Historic Papers of 1914

By HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG
MANAGING EDITOR, *Foreign Affairs*

THERE was no lull before the storm in Belgrade on July 25, 1914, the last of the two days of grace allowed by Count Berchtold for the preparation of Serbia's answer to the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum. Every one connected with the Government knew that the reply was to be modest and pacific to a degree, but they recognized that Vienna could not be prevented from finding in it the pretext for war. The universal expectation was that immediately after the departure of Baron Giesl and his staff from the Austro-Hungarian Legation the guns of the enemy would sound across the Danube, and once again history would record the destruction of Belgrade.

At the Foreign Office the word had been given for the staff to spend the final hours in packing up what they could of the most valuable archives, so as to get them aboard one of the two trains waiting to carry the Prince Regent and the Gov-

Belgrade, le 23¹⁰ Juillet 1914.

Monsieur le Ministre

J'ai l'honneur de remettre ci-près à

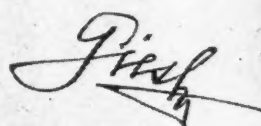
Votre Excellence une note que je viens de recevoir de mon Gouvernement et destinée au Gouvernement Royal de Serbie.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre,

l'assurance de ma plus haute considération.

(Remis personnellement

à 8 heures p.m.)



Son Excellence

Monsieur L. Paču, Ministre des Finances,

Président du Conseil ad interim.

Belgrade.

Facsimile of the covering letter to the Austro-Hungarian Note of July 23, 1914, to Serbia

les territoires de la Monarchie; ces résultats lui imposent au contraire le devoir de mettre fin à des menées qui forment une menace perpétuelle pour la tranquillité de la Monarchie.

C'est pour atteindre ce but que le Gouvernement I. et R. se voit obligé de demander au Gouvernement Serbe l'énonciation officielle qu'il condamne la propagande dirigée contre la Monarchie austro-hongroise, c'est à dire l'ensemble des tendances qui aspirent en dernier lieu à détacher de la Monarchie des territoires qui en font partie, et qu'il s'engage à supprimer, par tous les moyens, cette propagande criminelle et terroriste.

Afin de donner un caractère solennel à cet engagement, le Gouvernement Royal de Serbie fera publier à la première page du Journal officiel en date du 26/13 juillet l'énonciation suivante:

„Le Gouvernement Royal de Serbie condamne la propagande dirigée contre l'Autriche-Hongrie, c'est à dire l'ensemble des tendances qui aspirent en dernier lieu à détacher de la Monarchie austro-hongroise des territoires qui en font partie, et il déplore sincèrement

Facsimile of one of the pages of the Austro-Hungarian Note of July 23, 1914, to Serbia

ernment south to Nish. Meanwhile the army was to make a stand in the mountains, facing the Drina or the Danube, whichever front the Austrian General Staff should choose for launching their major attack. To the harassed Foreign Office staff had fallen the duty of coding the ultimatum and transmitting it to the Serbian Legations abroad, of trying to satisfy the foreign diplomats who clamored to know what action was being planned, of steering the Belgrade press, warning the National Bank of developments

in order that its money reserves could be moved in time, and translating the text of the Serbian reply so that it might be delivered at the Austro-Hungarian Legation by 6 o'clock. In the circumstances, it is remarkable that as many as thirty or forty cases were packed with diplomatic documents and transported to Nish.

After the Austro-Hungarian forces had twice invaded the country and twice been repelled, the Bulgarian declaration of war closed the rear and left the Serbians no alternative but surrender or retreat through the mountain snows of Albania. The only thing to do with the archives seemed to be to hide them. A few particularly important papers were retained and carried over Albania to Corfu, but the bulk of them were buried quietly one night near Kraljevo. There they were later discovered by the Austrians. Apparently part were destroyed, but the greater part

were carried off to Vienna, along with a mass of documents seized in Belgrade. Though presumably this material was carefully examined, and though for three years the Austro-Hungarian Government had control of all the judicial processes in Serbia, nothing was ever unearthed that could be made to serve as grist either for the domestic or the international propaganda mill. One of the first actions of the Serbian Government after it returned in triumph to the capital was to send a mission to Vienna to bring back the archives that had been carried off.

19
 de un droit d'indemnité amplement suffisant
 pour les victimes de la guerre et la population
 du Royaume qui souffrent de la guerre avec la
 dernière requête entre les personnes qui se contentent
 d'attendre de nouvelles agissements qui
 mettront sur ses enfants à provenir. La réponse
 à cette exigence sera faite à la com-
 mission de l'Armée Royale par un acte de la
 loi du Ministre de la Guerre et sera publiée
 dans le bulletin officiel de la Serbie
 et l'ordonnance royale d'usage de la
 loi introduire, dès la première convention
 requise de la Hongrie, que les conditions
 dans la loi de la guerre sera jointe
 de la manière la plus soignée la convention à la
 fin de chaque mois de la dernière instance
 Hongroise ainsi que contre toute publication
 dans la dernière convention de la Serbie contre
 l'indemnité de la Hongrie de la Hongrie
 La loi de la guerre de la loi de la loi
 qui est prochaine, à faire introduire dans la loi
 XXII de la loi de la loi un amendement de la loi
 qui les publications, et des lois mises en
 la loi de la loi, ce qui est actuellement, sans

Facsimile of a page of the Serbian reply of July 25, 1914, to the Austro-Hungarian Note

Complaints are frequently heard about the paucity of the pre-war diplomatic papers made public so far by the Belgrade Government. The typically Balkan inclination to shrug a shoulder when one points out that this lack of candor has a bad effect on world opinion grows partly out of a reluctance to believe that anything merely said or written on paper really means very much as contrasted with acts and facts, such a fact, for example, as the defeat and dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and the constitution of the new and vital Yugoslav State on the ashes of little Serbia. In its present application this inclination also grows out of the complications of Serbian political life, both during the war, when no one knew what would happen and each national leader had his own program, and since, with Centralists lined up against Federalists, Serbs against Croats, tradition and habit against initiative and experiment. The personification of the instinctive feeling that old methods could meet new emergencies, that nothing should be said to make the situation in Parliament more difficult or to embitter individuals merely in order to suit the whims of foreign historians, was Premier Nikola Pashitch, one of the great men of our day, a patriot of the highest order, but trained in a narrow political environment and wholly unaccustomed to reckon with world opinion. His self-reliant hand guided the Foreign Office almost continu-

Belgrade, le 25/12 Juillet 1914.

6 heures du soir.

Monsieur le Président du Conseil, .

Le délai fixé dans la note que j'ai remis, d'ordre de mon gouvernement, à Son Excellence Monsieur Paču avant-hier, jeudi, à 6 heures p.m., ayant expiré, sans qu'une réponse satisfaisante me soit parvenue, j'ai l'honneur d'informer Votre Excellence que je quitte Belgrade ce soir avec le personnel de la Légation Impériale et Royale.

La protection de la Légation Impériale et Royale avec ses dépendances, annexes et archives, ainsi que la sauvegarde des sujets et intérêts autri-

Son Excellence

Monsieur Nicola Pašić, Président du Conseil

etc., etc., etc.

Belgrade.

Facsimile of first page of the Note of July 25, 1914, from Baron Giesl, Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade, saying that the Serbian reply was unsatisfactory

ously, and when it did not, phantom Cabinets came and went without leisure for worship at the new shrine of open diplomacy.

Psychological factors might have been enough in themselves to thwart those who urged the Yugoslav Government to entrust the publication of all important papers dealing with the war to some impartial group of Serbian scholars, as has been done both in Great Britain and Germany. Material obstacles of a very serious nature also intervened to make such a course most

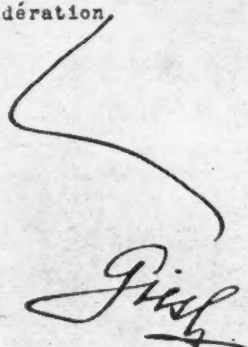
chiens et hongrois en Serbie, sont confiées à la
Légation Impériale d'Allemagne.

Les Chancelliers Ferdinand Joannovits et
Milan Meković qui resteront à Belgrade ont été
attachés à la Légation Impériale d'Allemagne.

Finalement je constate que, dès la réception
de la présente lettre par Votre Excellence, la rupture
des relations diplomatiques entre le Royaume de Serbie
et l'Autriche-Hongrie revêtra le caractère d'un fait
accompli.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre,

l'assurance de ma plus haute considération



Second page of Baron Giesl's note of July 25, 1914

difficult. When the six weeks of fighting and marching that began east of Monastir on Sept. 15, 1918, had swept Serbia free of the invaders from one end to the other, Serbian officials straggled back to the capital. The Government, as explained, brought only fragmentary archives back from their exile at Corfu, and these were in a state of chaos. What was retrieved from Vienna was also in complete disorder. There were tremendous new problems involved in restoring political and economic order and in organizing the machinery of a large new

new search. He remembered that the telegram had been received in Nish and that he had carried it about in his pocket for some days or weeks. The exertions and persistence of Jovan Markovitch, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, finally led to its being unearthed, along with some of the other momentous documents of which the writer wanted photographic copies. They are reproduced herewith, it is believed for the first time.

The first of the documents reproduced is the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum, presented

State, and time and funds were not available for pastimes like classifying the archives. Even our own country, so proud of its efficiency, is not perturbed by the fact that its State Department has box upon box of historic papers not even filed, much less indexed, for the arrangement of which no funds can be secured. Serbia, struggling to its feet after the ordeal of invasion and occupation, tried to face the future and was only too glad for a time to forget the past.

The writer had an indication of the situation prevailing in the Yugoslav archives when he asked permission to have a photograph made of the Austrian telegram of July 28, 1914, that declared war on Serbia. An earnest search failed to disclose its whereabouts. Though not "lost," this historic bit of paper, one of the most fateful in the history of man, "could not for the moment be found." Mr. Pashitch personally ordered a

Ministère I. et R. de la Maison Impériale
et Royale et des affaires étrangères.

Vienne, le 26 juillet 1914.

No. 60.261/1.

Monsieur l'Envoyé,

La Note que l'Envoyé extraordinaire et
Ministre plénipotentiaire I. et R. à Belgrade
a remise au Gouvernement Royal, le 23 courant,
étant restée sans réponse satisfaisante, je
me suis trouvé dans le cas de charger le
Baron de Giesl de quitter la capitale serbe
avec le personnel de la Légation, tout en
remettant la protection des sujets de Sa
Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique à
la Légation d'Allemagne.

Ayant le regret de voir finir, par là,
aussi les relations que j'ai eu l'honneur
d'entretenir avec Vous, Monsieur l'Envoyé,

A

Monsieur Jovan M. Jovanovitch,
Envoyé extraordinaire et Ministre plénipotentiaire de
Sa Majesté le Roi de Serbie.

Facsimile of first page of Count Berchtold's note of July 26, 1914,
sending passport to the Serbian Minister in Vienna

je ne manque pas de mettre sous ce pli à
./.
Votre disposition le passeport pour Votre
retour en Serbie et pour celui du personnel
de la Légation Royale.
Veuillez agréer, Monsieur l'Envoyé, les
assurances de ma considération la plus distinguée.

Berchtold

Conclusion of Count Berchtold's note of July 26, 1914, to the
Serbian Minister

at the Serbian Foreign Office by Baron Giesl at 6 o'clock on the evening of Thursday, July 23. Premier Pashitch being absent on an electioneering campaign, it was received by Acting Foreign Minister Pachu. On it are the pencil marks made while it was feverishly being studied by Mr. Pachu and the other members of the Cabinet who happened to be in the capital. The second half of Paragraph 6, demanding that Austrian officials should take part in the inquiry which the Serbian Government was to open, seems especially underscored; it was one of the Austrian demands which, being contrary to the Constitution and the criminal law, the Serbian Government for all its conciliatory spirit, could not accept if it meant to retain its standing as an independent State.

The companion document to the ultimatum is the Serbian reply, written out in longhand by Mr. Todorovitch, one of the secretaries of the Foreign Office. The only typewriter remaining in the denuded Foreign Office broke down at the last moment, and the note had to be prepared with pen and ink. At the same time that Mr. Todorovitch penned the fateful document he

Прелат
Разм. 00. 60
вс. 000.

Адреса: *М. О. Министр
royal des affaires
étrangeres*

Итого: 5-11

ИЗ	ВРЕМЯ ПРИЕМА	ВРЕМЯ ПЕРЕСИЛ	СЛУЖБЕНН ПОДАНИ	ВРЕМЯ ПРИЕМА	ПОТРЕБ. ЗАПИСКИ
11	3503	5 115	28 11 11	11 11 30	R

Вен

*Le gouvernement royal de serbie n'a pas
repondu d'une maniere satisfais-
sante a la note qui lui avait ete renmise
par le ministre d'austrich hongrie a belgrade
a la date du 23 juillet q'il le gouvernement
imperial et royal se trouve dans la neces-
sité de poursuivre lui meme a la sauvegarde
de ses droits et et interets et de recourir
a cet effet a la force des armes. L'austriche
hongrie se considere donc de ce moment
en etat de guerre avec la serbie =*

*le ministre des affaires
étrangeres d'austrich hongrie
comte berchtold.*

Facsimile of Count Berchtold's telegram of July 28, 1914, to the Serbian Minister of Foreign Affairs declaring war

wrote out a copy, which Dr. Grouitch, the chief permanent official of the Foreign Office, carried to Nish and gave to Premier Pashitch. The facsimile shows that even at the last moment of hasty copying changes were being made in the text.

In addition we have the brief note in which, a quarter of an hour after the receipt of the Serbian reply, Baron Giesl gave notice that it was unsatisfactory and that he was quitting the country. We also have the sarcastic letter in which Count Berchtold "with regret" dismissed the Serbian Minister in Vienna, Mr. Jovanovitch.

Finally, to complete the picture, there is the telegram which actually declared war. It is marked as having been dispatched from Vienna at 11:10 on the morning of July 28, and received at Nish at 12:30. Presumably it was relayed via Belgrade. At the hour when it was sent, Belgrade was no longer the capital, even of little Serbia. Crumpled in the pocket of Mr. Pashitch, it was carried over the Albanian mountains into exile; Serbia itself ceased to exist; today, rediscovered, the telegram reposes in Belgrade, the capital of the United Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Darwinism Reaffirmed by Latest Evidence

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, *Science Service*, WASHINGTON, D. C.

SCIENCE is at its best when the British Association for the Advancement of Science meets. Not alone England but all the world attends and speaks. To its sessions many important announcements have been made. Its program is a barometer of scientific progress. It is, therefore, interesting that Darwin's theory of man's descent was chosen by this year's President, Sir Arthur Keith, famous anatomist, for his principal address at the Leeds meeting. [The full text is printed at the end of this article.]

In 1860, at an Oxford meeting of the British Association, the great Huxley had his spectacular fight with the Bishop of Oxford and emerged victorious. But in that day it was the usual conviction that man had appeared on earth by a special act of creation. Today the situation is changed. There are no fights upon evolution at scientific meetings. Occasionally far from the laboratory and the study, on the frontiers of the spread of knowledge, there are those who wish to suppress the truth by vain laws. Even the spectacle of Dayton has had no encore. Those who listened to Sir Arthur Keith's summary of the recent discoveries which tend to support Darwin's ideas did not have to be convinced; the theories which they already held were only strengthened, not altered.

At the conclusion of such an address, it was fitting that announcement would be made of plans by the British Association looking toward the preservation of Darwin's old home as an international shrine. This historic home in the village of Down in the Kentish uplands may in future years rival Shakespeare's at Stratford-on-Avon as a place of interest.

ENGLISHMAN'S EVOLVING PHYSIQUE

Evolution is not a process that is confined to the past, for Professor F. G. Parsons of the University of London reported to the British Association researches that indicate that the physical characteristics of the typical Englishman are undergoing a

change. His head shape is showing unmistakable signs of an increase of its proportional height, with a decrease of its proportional length. This increase of proportional height is greater than has been found in any of the stocks from which the modern Englishman is derived, and Professor Parsons believes it therefore cannot be looked upon as harking back to any ancestral form, but must be regarded as an evolutionary process, in harmony with the greatly changed conditions of life which have come about during the last century. Professor Parsons has also found that the Englishman of the future is, if present conditions persist, making for an average height of 5 ft. 9 in., and the women for one of 5 ft. 6 in. or 5 ft. 7 in. "Our people have reached, and are stationary at, a stage in which some 66 per cent. have light eyes and some 34 per cent. dark," he said. "There are no signs whatever that the hair color has darkened during the last sixty years, though there are signs, which perhaps need discounting, that the hair is lighter than it was sixty years ago."

FUTURE OF THE ANTARCTIC

Since England is one of the great colonizing nations of the world, it is not strange that the presidential address before the geographical section of the British Association, delivered by Dr. R. N. Rudmose Brown, should be an analysis of polar problems. Because of the attention that will be focused upon the Antarctic region in coming months, owing to Commander Byrd's proposed aeronautical explorations there, his discussions of the future of the Antarctic are particularly interesting. Little hope of permanent settlements upon the great Antarctic continent is foreseen. "The Antarctic has no human problems comparable with those of the Arctic," Dr. Brown said. "It is true that whaling has recently invaded the Antarctic, with the vessels in the Ross Sea, not to mention the sub-Antarctic whaling in South Georgian and Falkland waters. But this can be little

more than a passing phase. Already some species of whales show signs of depletion of numbers, and unless whaling is so rigorously shackled by regulations as to make it of little profit compared with the risk it entails, the industry must kill itself in a few years' time. For the rest there is nothing of value in commerce in the Antarctic; certainly nothing that it can possibly pay to exploit. The stories of future Antarctic coal mines can be dismissed as a dream without any solid foundation. It is fortunate. And those of us who care for the wild waste spaces of the world are glad to think of the Antarctic as free from invasion by our modern civilization with its insistence on hurry and noise. We are glad to remember the lonely places of the world and their matchless beauty, content to know that to others they will bring the same fascination they did to us in years gone by."

POPULATION GROWTH

Another scientific meeting that aroused world interest was the World Population Conference at Geneva. One of the leading speakers was Dr. Raymond Pearl of Johns Hopkins University, who explained the law of population growth that he has been studying. Peoples rise, flourish a while in their prime, then dwindle away until no increase in their population growth is perceptible. Dr. Pearl believes this characteristic manner of growth holds good not only for human populations but for living organisms of all sorts. "The population at first grows slowly," Dr. Pearl said, "but gains impetus as it grows, passing gradually into a stage of rapid growth, which finally reaches a maximum of rapidity. After this stage of most rapid growth the population increases ever more and more slowly, until finally there is no more perceptible growth at all, in short, the populations of various forms of life first wax in their speed of growing and then wane." Experimental populations of yeast, bacteria and that most used laboratory animal, the fruit fly, carefully watched and counted in his laboratory, have furnished evidence that the rise and fall of all populations can be depicted by the same general curve.

GEOLOGISTS' TRAVEL SCHOOL

A promising development in scientific study and educational method is being made through the geological train-tours that have been a part of the Summer school work of Princeton University this Summer and last. Under the direction of Pro-

fessor R. M. Field, a party of students and experienced geologists this year traveled 10,000 miles across Canada and back again, studying the varied geology of that country. Through the use of a special Pullman car combining the features of classroom, dormitory, dining hall and recreation centre, the Princeton geology class has been able to go across Canada from one side of the North American continent to the other, stopping where the rocks themselves could teach the best lessons. During the day an interesting locality is visited, and just before dinner time the class returns to its traveling home. Dinner is served, a lecture held, and a night's rest obtained while the party is en route to another locality, perhaps hundreds of miles away. Rocks telling their own stories, embedded fossils revealing the life of past ages, contorted strata telling of ancient cataclysms, dingy minerals that to the unpracticed eye disguise precious metals, mines and mills in which metal is being obtained from ore—these field exhibits are more effective than the most adequate lectures and class-room illustrations. At the actual geological formations, the authorities who have made intensive studies of the local geology can lecture, advise and lead the field trips. The close contact between the undergraduate students and the professors and experienced geologists develops for the student an appreciation of the methods of geological research. Similarly the future will probably find traveling schools a part of the educational systems of many cities and States and most universities. The floating universities that allow students to study while circling the globe are one phase of the movement.

RECORD EARTHQUAKE

On Sunday, May 22, 1927, there occurred one of the most severe earthquakes on record. It was noted not by cable or radio but by the vibrations in the earth which it caused. Within eighteen hours experts of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey in Washington, using data collected by Science Service from seismograph observatories throughout the world, had determined that the earthquake had occurred in the Kansu Province of China. It was so severe that it was calculated that thousands must have been killed. But so remote is Kansu Province that it took two months for a confirmation to reach the outside world. Then only meager details filtered through war-ridden China, but it was learned that the disaster had resulted in the loss of 100,000

lives. In 1920 an even more severe earthquake occurred in the Kansu region, when 500,000 people were killed. Two such severe earthquakes occurring at such short intervals in approximately the same area sets a seismological record. Never before, so far as records show, have two such severe shocks in the same region occurred so close together. In the case of the second earthquake, the first wave was recorded on the seismograph at Georgetown University, Washington, fourteen minutes after it started in China. The second wave was begun ten minutes later. Washington is about 7,000 miles from Kansu. The shock was also recorded at Manila, which is about 2,200 miles away. Here the first wave arrived seven minutes after the shock and the second nine minutes after that. As seismologists have studied many earthquakes in the past, they compiled tables from which the distances from a seismograph can be determined by the difference in time of arrival of the two waves. When they are about nine minutes apart it indicates that the distance is about 2,200 miles, but when the difference is ten minutes, the scientists

know that the earthquake is about 7,000 miles from the instrument. The record of a single station can only locate the earthquake on a circle at a certain distance. Sometimes this circle may cross a region where earthquakes are frequent, and then it would seem probable that the shock occurred there. However, when reports are received from several stations circles can be drawn on the globe around each of them and the exact spot determined by the point of intersection. By such means the position of the Chinese earthquake is probably known more accurately by American scientists than by the Chinese themselves. About fifteen earthquake stations in the United States and Canada and foreign places as far away as Samoa, Philippine Islands, Sitka, Alaska and England use telegraph, radio or cable to send reports of records or shocks to Science Service in Washington. In cooperation with Commander N. H. Heck of the United States Geodetic Coast Survey and the Rev. James B. Macelwane of the Jesuit Seismological Association, these reports are interpreted and the location of the earthquake discovered.

TEXT OF SIR ARTHUR KEITH'S ADDRESS ON DARWINISM

The following is the complete text of what has been pronounced to be a most important scientific document—the address on "Darwin's Theory of Man's Descent as It Stands Today," delivered by Sir Arthur Keith, as President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at its meeting at Leeds, England, on Aug. 31, 1927:

FIFTY-FIVE years have come and gone since Charles Darwin wrote a history of man's descent. How does his work stand the test of time?

In tracing the course of events which led up to our present conception of man's origin, no place could serve as a historical starting point so well as Leeds. In this city was fired the first verbal shot of that long and bitter strife which ended in the overthrow of those who defended the biblical account of man's creation and in a victory for Darwin.

On Sept. 24, 1858—sixty-nine years ago—the British Association assembled in this city just as we do tonight; Sir Richard Owen, the first anatomist of his age, stood where I now stand. He had prepared a long address, four times the length of the one I propose to read, and surveyed, as he was well qualified to do, the whole realm of science; but only those parts which concern man's origin require our attention now. He cited evidence which suggested a much earlier date for the appearance of man on earth than was sanctioned by biblical rec-

ords, but poured scorn on the idea that man was merely a transmuted ape. He declared to the assembled association that the differences between man and ape were so great that it was necessary, in his opinion, to assign mankind to an altogether separate order in the animal kingdom. As this statement fell from the President's lips there was at least one man in the audience whose spirit of opposition was roused—Thomas Henry Huxley, Owen's young and rising antagonist.

I have picked out Huxley from the audience because it is necessary for the development of my theme that we should give him our attention for a moment. We know what Huxley's feelings were toward Owen at the date of the Leeds meeting. Six months before, he had told his sister that "an internecine feud rages between Owen and myself," and on the eve of his departure for Leeds he wrote to Hooker: "The interesting question arises: Shall I have a row with the great O. there?" I am glad to say the Leeds meeting passed off amicably, but it settled in Huxley's mind what

the "row" was to be about when it came. It was to concern man's rightful position in the scale of living things.

Two years later in 1860, when this association met in Oxford, Owen gave Huxley the opportunity he desired. In the course of a discussion Owen repeated the statement made at Leeds as to man's separate position, claiming that the human brain had certain structural features never seen in the brain of anthropoid apes. Huxley's reply was a brief and emphatic denial, with a promise to produce evidence in due course—which was faithfully kept. This opening passage at arms between our protagonists was followed two days later by that spectacular fight—the most memorable in the history of our association—in which the Bishop of Oxford, the representative of Owen and of orthodoxy, left his scalp in Huxley's hands.

To make his victory decisive and abiding, Huxley published, early in 1863, *The Evidence of Man's Place in Nature*, a book which has a very direct bearing on the subject of my discourse. It settled for all time that man's rightful position is among the primates, and that, as we anatomists weigh evidence, his nearest living kin are the anthropoid apes.

My aim is to make clear to you the foundations on which rest your present-day conception of man's origin. The address delivered by my predecessor from this chair at the Leeds meeting of 1858 has given me the opportunity of placing Huxley's fundamental conception of man's nature in a historical setting. I must now turn to another issue which Sir Richard Owen merely touched upon but which is of supreme interest to us now. He spent the Summer in London, just as I have done, writing his address for Leeds and keeping an eye on what was happening at scientific meetings. In his case something really interesting happened.

Sir Charles Lyell and Sir Joseph Hooker left with the Linnean Society what appeared to be an ordinary roll of manuscript, but what in reality was a parcel charged with high explosives, prepared by two very innocent looking men, Alfred Russel Wallace and Charles Darwin. As a matter of honesty it must be admitted that these two men were well aware of the deadly nature of its contents, and knew that if an explosion occurred man himself, the crown of creation, could not escape its destructive effects.

Owen examined the contents of the parcel and came to the conclusion that they were not dangerous; at least, he manifested no sign of alarm in his presidential address. He dismissed both Wallace and Darwin, particularly Darwin, in the briefest of paragraphs, at the same time citing passages from his own work to prove that the conception of natural selection as an evolutionary force was one which he had already recognized.

As I address these words to you I cannot help marveling over the difference between our outlook today and that of the audience which Sir Richard Owen had to face in this city sixty-nine years ago. The vast assemblage which confronted him was convinced, almost without a dissident, that man had appeared on earth by a special act of creation; whereas the audience which I have now the honor of addressing, and that larger

congregation which the wonders of wireless bring within the reach of my voice, if not convinced Darwinists are yet prepared to believe, when full proofs are forthcoming, that man began his career as a humble primate animal and has reached his present estate by the action and reaction of biological forces which have been and are ever at work within his body and brain.

This transformation of outlook on man's origin is one of the marvels of the nineteenth century, and to see how it was effected we must turn our attention for a little while to the village of Down in the Kentish uplands and note what Charles Darwin was doing on the very day that Sir Richard Owen was delivering his address here in Leeds. He sat in his study struggling with the first chapter of a new book; but no one foresaw, Owen least of all, that the publication of the completed book, *The Origin of Species*, fifteen months later (1859) was to effect a sweeping revolution in our way of looking at living things and to initiate a new period in human thought—the Darwinian period—in which we still are.

Without knowing it, Darwin was a consummate General. He did not launch his first campaign until he had spent twenty-two years in stocking his arsenal with ample stores of tested and assorted fact. Having won territory with *The Origin of Species*, he immediately set to work to consolidate his gains by the publication in 1868 of another book, *The Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication*—a great and valuable treasury of biological observation. Having thus established an advanced base, he moved forward on his final objective—the problem of human beginnings—by the publication of *The Descent of Man* (1871), and that citadel capitulated to him. To make victory doubly certain he issued in the following year—1872—*The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. Many a soldier of truth had attempted this citadel before Darwin's day, but they failed because they had neither his generalship nor his artillery.

WILL DARWIN'S VICTORY ENDURE?

Will Darwin's victory endure for all time? Before attempting to answer this question, let us look at what kind of book *The Descent of Man* is. It is a book of history—the history of man, written in a new way—the way discovered by Charles Darwin.

Permit me to illustrate the Darwinian way of writing history. If a history of the modern bicycle had to be written in the orthodox way, then we should search dated records until every stage was found which linked the two-wheeled hobby horse, bestrode by tall-hatted fashionable men at the beginning of the nineteenth century, to the modern "jeopardy" which now flashes past us in country lanes.

But suppose there were no dated records—only a jumble of antiquated machines stored in the cellar of a museum. We should then have to adopt Darwin's way of writing history. By an exact and systematic comparison of one machine with another we could infer the relationship of one to another and tell the order of their appearance, but as to the date at which each type appeared and the length of time it remained in fashion we could say very little.

It was by adopting this circumstantial

method that Darwin succeeded in writing the history of man. He gathered historical documents from the body and behavior of man and compared them with observations made on the body and behavior of every animal which showed the least resemblance to man. He studied all that was known in his day of man's embryological history and noted resemblances and differences in the corresponding histories of other animals. He took into consideration the manner in which the living tissues of men react to disease, to drugs and to environment; he had to account for the existence of diverse races of mankind. By a logical analysis of his facts Darwin reconstructed and wrote a history of man.

Fifty-six years have come and gone since that history was written; an enormous body of new evidence has poured in upon us. We are now able to fill in many pages which Darwin had perforce to leave blank and we have found it necessary to alter details in his narrative, but the fundamentals of Darwin's outline of man's history remains unshaken. Nay, so strong has his position become that I am convinced that it never can be shaken.

Why do I say so confidently that Darwin's position has become impregnable? It is because of what has happened since his death in 1882. Since then we have succeeded in tracing man by means of his fossil remains and by his stone implements backward in time to the very beginning of that period of the earth's history to which the name Pleistocene is given. We thus reach a point in history which is distant from us at least 200,000 years, perhaps three times that amount. Nay, we have gone further and traced him into the older and longer period which preceded the Pleistocene—the Pliocene. It was in strata laid down by a stream in Java during the latter part of the Pliocene period that Dr. Eugene Dubois found, ten years after Darwin's death, the fossil remains of that remarkable representative of primitive humanity to which he gave the name *Pithecanthropus*, or ape-man. From Pliocene deposits of East Anglia, Reid Moir has recovered rude stone implements. If Darwin was right, then as we trace man backward in the scale of time he should become more bestial in form—nearer to the ape. That is what we have found. But if we regard *Pithecanthropus*, with his small and simple yet human brain, as a fair representative of the men of the Pliocene period, then evolution must have proceeded at an unexpectedly rapid rate to culminate today in the higher races of mankind.

The evidence of man's evolution from an ape-like being, obtained from a study of fossil remains, is definite and irrefutable, but the process has been infinitely more complex than was suspected in Darwin's time. Our older and discarded conception of man's transformation was depicted in that well-known diagram which showed a single file of skeletons, the gibbon at one end and man at the other. In our original simplicity we expected, as we traced man backward in time, that we should encounter a graded series of fossil forms—a series which would carry him in a straight line toward an anthropoid ancestor.

We should never have made this initial

mistake if we had remembered that the guide to the world of the past is the world of the present. In our time man is represented not by one but by many and diverse races—black, brown, yellow and white. Some of these are rapidly expanding, others are as rapidly disappearing. Our searches have shown that in remote times the world was peopled, sparsely it is true, with races showing even a greater diversity than those of today and that already the same process of replacement was at work. We have to thread our way, not along the links of a chain, but through the meshes of a complicated network.

We made another mistake. Seeing that in our search for man's ancestry we expected to reach an age when the beings we should have to deal with would be simian rather than human, we ought to have marked the conditions which prevail among living anthropoid apes. We ought to have been prepared to find, as we approached a distant point in the geological horizon, that the forms encountered would be as widely different as are the gorilla, chimpanzee and orang, and confined, as these great anthropoids now are, to limited parts of the earth's surface.

ZIGZAG LINE OF MAN'S DESCENT

That is what we are now realizing: As we go backward in time we discover that mankind becomes broken up, not into separate races as in the world of today, but into numerous and separate species. When we go into a still more remote past they become so unlike that we have to regard them not as belonging to separate species but different genera. It is among this welter of extinct fossil forms which strew the ancient world that we have to trace the zigzag line of man's descent. Do you wonder we sometimes falter and follow false clues?

We committed a still further blunder when we set out on the search for man's ancestry: indeed, some of us are still making it. We expected that man's evolution would pursue not only an orderly file of stages but that every part of his body—skull, brain, jaws, teeth, skin, body, arms and legs—would at each stage become a little less apelike, a little more manlike.

Our searches have shown us that man's evolution has not proceeded in this orderly manner. In some extinct races, while one part of the body has moved forward another part has lagged behind. Let me illustrate this point, because it is important. We now know that, as Darwin sat in his study at Down, there lay hidden at Piltdown, in Sussex, not thirty miles distant from him, sealed up in a bed of gravel, a fossil human skull and jaw. In 1912, thirty years after Darwin's death, Charles Dawson discovered this skull and my friend, Sir Arthur Smith Woodward, described it and rightly recognized that skull and jaw were parts of the same individual, and that this individual had lived, as was determined by geological and other evidence, in the opening phase of the Pleistocene period.

We may confidently presume that this individual was representative of the people who inhabited England at this remote date. The skull, although deeply mineralized and thick-walled, might well have been the rude forerunner of a modern skull, but the lower

jaw was so apelike that some experts denied that it went with the human fossil skull at all and supposed it to be the lower jaw of some extinct kind of chimpanzee. This mistake would never have been made if those concerned had studied the comparative anatomy of anthropoid apes. Such a study would have prepared them to meet with the discordances of evolution.

PROBLEM OF THE APE-MAN

The same irregularity in the progression of parts is evident in the anatomy of Pithecanthropus, the oldest and most primitive form of humanity so far discovered. The thigh-bone might easily be that of modern man, the skull-cap that of an ape, but the brain within that cap, as we now know, had passed well beyond an anthropoid status. If merely a lower jaw had been found at Piltown, an ancient Englishman would have been wrongly labeled, "Higher anthropoid ape." If only the thigh-bone of Pithecanthropus had come to light in Java, then an ancient Javanese, almost deserving the title of anthropoid, would have passed muster as a man.

Such examples illustrate the difficulties and dangers which beset the task of unravelling man's ancestry. There are other difficulties. There still remain great blanks in the geological record of man's evolution. As our search proceeds, these blanks will be filled in, but in the meantime let us note their nature and their extent. By the discovery of fossil remains we have followed man backward to the close of the Pliocene—a period which endured at least for a quarter of a million years, but we have not yet succeeded in tracing him through this period. It is true that we have found fossil teeth in Pliocene deposits which may be those of an ape-like man or of a man-like ape. Until we find other parts of their bodies we cannot decide.

When we pass into the still older Miocene period—one which was certainly twice as long as the Pliocene—we are in the heyday of anthropoid history. Thanks to the labors of Dr. Guy E. Pilgrim of the Indian Geological Survey, we know already of a dozen different kinds of great anthropoids which lived in Himalayan jungles during middle and later Miocene times; we know of at least three other kinds of great anthropoids which lived in the contemporary jungles of Europe. Unfortunately, we have found as yet only the most resistant parts of their bodies—teeth and fragments of jaw. Do some of these fragments represent a human ancestor? We cannot decide until a lucky chance brings to light a limb-bone or a piece of skull, but no one can compare the teeth of these Miocene anthropoids with those of primitive man, as has been done so thoroughly by Professor William K. Gregory, and escape the conviction that in the dentitions of the extinct anthropoids of the Miocene jungles we have the ancestral forms of human teeth.

It is useless to go to strata still older than the Miocene in search of man's emergence. In such strata we have found only fossil traces of emerging anthropoids. All the evidence now at our disposal supports the conclusion that man has arisen, as Lamarck and Darwin suspected, from an anthropoid ape not higher in the zoological scale than

a chimpanzee, and that the date at which human and anthropoid lines of descent began to diverge lies near the beginning of the Miocene period. On our modest scale of reckoning, that gives man the respectable antiquity of about one million years.

Our geological search, which I have summarized all too briefly, has not produced so far the final and conclusive evidence of man's anthropoid origin. We have not found as yet the human imago emerging from its anthropoid encasement. Why, then, do modern anthropologists share the conviction that there has been an anthropoid stage in our ancestry? They are no more blind than you are to the degree of difference which separates man and ape in structure, in appearance and in behavior.

I must touch on the sources of this conviction only in a passing manner. Early in the present century Professor G. H. F. Nuttall of Cambridge University discovered a trustworthy and exact method of determining the affinity of one species of animal to another by comparing the reactions of their blood. He found that the blood of man and that of the great anthropoid apes gave almost the same reaction. Bacteriologists find that the living anthropoid body possesses almost the same susceptibilities to infections and manifests the same reactions as does the body of man.

So alike are the brains of man and anthropoid in their structural organization that surgeons and physiologists transfer experimental observations from the one to the other. When the human embryo establishes itself in the womb it throws out structures of a most complex nature to effect a connection with the maternal body. We now know that exactly the same elaborate processes occur in the anthropoid womb and in no other. We find the same vestigial structures—the same "evolutionary postmarks"—in the bodies of man and anthropoid. The anthropoid mother fondles, nurses and suckles her young in the human manner. This is but a tithe of the striking and intimate points in which man resembles the anthropoid ape. In what other way can such a myriad of coincidences be explained except by presuming a common ancestry for both?

The crucial chapters in Darwin's *Descent of Man* are those in which he seeks to give a historical account of the rise of man's brain and of the varied functions which that organ subserves. How do these chapters stand today? Darwin was not a professional anatomist and therefore accepted Huxley's statement that there was no structure in the human brain that was not already present in that of the anthropoid. In Huxley's opinion the human brain was but a richly annotated edition of the simpler and older anthropoid book, and that this edition, in turn, was but the expanded issue of the still older original primate publication.

Since this statement was made, thousands of anatomists and physiologists have studied and compared the brain of man and ape; only a few months ago Professor G. Elliot Smith summarized the result of this intensive inquiry as follows: "No structure found in the brain of an ape is lacking in the human brain, and, on the other hand, the human brain reveals no formation of

any sort that is not present in the brain of the gorilla or chimpanzee. * * * The only distinctive feature of the human brain is a quantitative one."

The difference is only quantitative, but its importance cannot be exaggerated. In the anthropoid brain are to be recognized all those parts which have become so enormous in the human brain. It is just these expansions which have given man his powers of feeling, understanding, acting, speaking and learning.

Darwin himself approached this problem not as an anatomist but as a psychologist, and after many years of painstaking and exact observation succeeded in convincing himself that, immeasurable as are the differences between the mentality of man and ape, they are of degree, not of kind. Prolonged researches made by modern psychologists have but verified and extended Darwin's conclusions.

No matter what line of evidence we select to follow—evidence gathered by anatomists, by embryologists, by physiologists or by psychologists—we reach the conviction that man's brain has been evolved from that of an anthropoid ape and that in the process no new structure has been introduced and no new or strange faculty interpolated.

In these days our knowledge of the elaborate architecture and delicate machinery of the human brain makes rapid progress, but I should mislead if I suggested that finality is in sight. Far from it; our inquiries are but begun. There is so much we do not yet understand. Will the day ever come when we can explain why the brain of man has made such great progress, while that of his cousin, the gorilla, has fallen so far behind? Can we explain why inherited ability falls to one family and not to another, or why, in the matter of cerebral endowment, one race of mankind has fared so much better than another?

SIZE OF THE BRAIN

We have as yet no explanation to offer, but an observation made twenty years ago by one on whom nature has showered great gifts—a former President of this association and the doyen of British zoologists—Sir E. Ray Lankester—deserves quotation in this connection: "The leading feature in the development and separation of man from other animals is undoubtedly the relative enormous size of the brain in man and the corresponding increase in its activities and capacity. It is a striking fact that it was not in the ancestors of man alone that this increase in the size of the brain took place at this same period—the Miocene. Other great mammals of the early Tertiary period were in the same case." When primates made their first appearance in geological records they were, one and all, small-brained. We have to recognize that the tendency to increase of brain, which culminated in the production of the human organ, was not confined to man's ancestry but appeared in diverse branches of the mammalian stock at a corresponding period of the earth's history.

I have spoken of Darwin as a historian. To describe events and to give the order of their occurrence is the easier part of a historian's task; his real difficulties begin when he seeks to interpret the happenings of history, to detect the causes which pro-

duced them, and explain why one event follows as a direct sequel to another.

Up to this point we have been considering only the materials for man's history and placing them, so far as our scanty information allows, in the order of their sequence; but now we have to seek out the biological processes and controlling influences which have shaped the evolutionary histories of man and ape. The evolution of new types of man or of ape is one thing, and the evolution of new types of motor cars is another, yet for the purposes of clear thinking it will repay us to use the one example to illustrate the other.

In the evolution of motor vehicles Darwin's law of selection has prevailed; there has been severe competition and the types which have answered best to the needs and tastes of the public have survived. The public has selected on two grounds—first for utility, thus illustrating Darwin's law of natural selection, and, secondly, because of appearance's sake; for, as most people know, a new car has to satisfy not only the utilitarian demands of its prospective master, but also the esthetic tastes of its prospective mistress, therein illustrating Darwin's second law—the law of sexual selection.

That selection, both utilitarian and esthetic, is producing an effect on modern races of mankind and in surviving kinds of ape, as Darwin supposed, cannot well be questioned. In recent centuries the interracial competition among men for the arable lands of the world is keener than in any known period of human history.

The public has selected its favored types of car, but it has had no direct hand in designing and producing modifications and improvements which have appeared year after year. To understand how such modifications are produced the inquirer must enter a factory and not only watch artisans shaping and fitting parts together, but also visit the designer's office. In this way an inquirer will obtain a glimpse of the machinery concerned in the evolution of motor cars.

If we are to understand the machinery which underlies the evolution of man and of ape, we have to enter the "factories" where they are produced—look within the womb and see the ovum being transformed into an embryo, the embryo into a foetus and the foetus into a babe. After birth we may note infancy passing into childhood, childhood into adolescence, adolescence into maturity and maturity into old age. Merely to register the stages of change is not enough; to understand the controlling machinery we have to search out and uncover the processes which are at work within developing and growing things and the influences which coordinate and control all the processes of development and of growth. When we have discovered the machinery of development and of growth we shall also know the machinery of evolution, for they are the same.

If the simile I have used would sound strange in Darwin's ear, could he hear it, the underlying meaning would be familiar to him. Over and over again he declared that he did not know how "variations" were produced, favorable or otherwise; nor could he have known, for in his time hormones

were undreamed of and experimental embryology scarcely born.

With these recent discoveries new vistas opened up for students of evolution. The moment we begin to work out the simile I have used and compare the evolutionary machinery in a motor factory with that which regulates the development of an embryo within the womb, we realize how different the two processes are. Let us imagine for a moment what changes would be necessary were we to introduce "embryological processes" into a car factory. We have to conceive a workshop teeming with clustering swarms of microscopic artisans, mere specks of living matter. In one end of this factory we find swarms busy with cylinders and as we pass along we note that every part of a car is in process of manufacture, each part being the business of a particular brigade of microscopic workmen.

NATURE'S LIVING WORKSHOP

There is no apprenticeship in this factory, every employe is born, just as a hive-bee is, with his skill already fully developed. No plans or patterns are supplied; every workman has the needed design in his head from birth. There is neither manager, overseer, nor foreman to direct and coordinate the activities of the vast artisan armies. And yet if parts are to fit when assembled, if pinions are to mesh and engines run smoothly, there must be some method of coordination. It has to be a method plastic enough to permit difficulties to be overcome when such are encountered and to permit the introduction of advantageous modifications when these are needed. A modern works manager would be hard put to were he asked to devise an automatic system of control for such a factory, yet it is just such a system that we are now obtaining glimpses of in the living workshops of nature.

I have employed a crude simile to give the lay mind an inkling of what happens in that "factory" where the most complicated of machines are forged—the human body and brain. The fertilized ovum divides and redivides; one brood of microscopic living units succeeds another, and as each is produced the units group themselves to form the "parts" of an embryo. Each "part" is a living society; the embryo is a huge congeries of interdependent societies. How are their respective needs regulated, their freedoms protected and their manoeuvres timed? Experimental embryologists have begun to explore and discover the machinery of regulation. We know enough to realize that it will take many generations of investigators to work over the great and new field which is thus opening up. When this is done we shall be in a better position to discuss the cause of "variation" and the machinery of evolution.

If we know only a little concerning the system of government which prevails in the developing embryo, we can claim that the system which prevails in the growing body, as it passes from infancy to maturity, is becoming better known to us every year. The influence of the sex glands on the growth of the body has been known since ancient times; their removal in youth leads to a transformation in the growth of every part

of the body, altering at the same time the reactions and temperament of the brain.

In more recent years medical men have observed that characteristic alterations in the appearance and constitution of the human body can be produced by the action of other glands—the pituitary, thyroid, parathyroid and adrenals. Under the disorderly action of one or other of these glands individuals may, in the course of a few years, become so changed in appearance that the differences between them and their fellows become as great as, or even greater than, those which separate one race of mankind from another. The physical characteristics which are thus altered are just those which mark one race off from another. How such effects are produced we did not know until 1904, when the late Professor E. H. Starling, a leader among the great physiologists of our time, laid bare an ancient and fundamental law in the living animal body—his law of hormones.

I have pictured the body of a growing child as an immense society made up of myriads of microscopic living units, ever increasing in numbers. One of the ways—probably the oldest and most important way—in which the activities of the communities of the body are coordinated and regulated is by the postal system discovered by Starling, wherein the missives are hormones—chemical substances in ultra-microscopic amounts, dispatched from one community to another in the circulating blood. Clearly the discovery of this ancient and intricate system opens up fresh vistas to the student of man's evolution.

How Darwin would have welcomed this discovery! It would have given him a rational explanation to so many of his unsolved puzzles, including that of "correlated variations." Nor can I in this connection forbear to mention the name of one who presided so ably over the affairs of this association fifteen years ago—Sir E. Sharpey-Schafer. He was the pioneer who opened up this field of investigation and has done more than any one to place our knowledge of the nature and action of the glands of internal secretion on a precise basis of experimental observation.

With such sources of knowledge being ever extended and others of great importance, such as the study of heredity, which have been left unmentioned, we are justified in the hope that man will be able in due time not only to write his own history but to explain how and why events took the course they did.

In a brief hour I have attempted to answer a question of momentous importance to all of us—What is man's origin? Was Darwin right when he said that man, under the action of biological forces which can be observed and measured, has been raised from a place among anthropoid apes to that which he now occupies? The answer is Yes! and in returning this verdict I speak but as foreman of the jury—a jury which has been empaneled from men who have devoted a lifetime to weighing the evidence. To the best of my ability I have avoided, in laying before you the evidence on which our verdict was found, the rôle of special pleader, being content to follow Darwin's own example—Let the truth speak for itself.

"Instilling" the Constitution

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

NEXT to Old Glory in patriotic significance and veneration is the Federal Constitution, which nowadays is widely fed to children in the public schools. We are freeing ourselves from the shopworn reproach that "the Constitution is that part of the book that nobody reads." The Constitution has become something for everybody to read, revere and understand to the best of his ability. The Federal Constitution is about on a par with Washington's Farewell Address as a foundation of American government and a textbook for school children.

The revelation of the Federal Constitution as a work of wonderful style, spirit and precepts is, however, no new discovery. There is every reason to suppose that Madison, Hamilton, Pinckney, Washington, Gouverneur Morris and the rest were well satisfied with their job. So were the members of the Constitutional Convention who went out to the State conventions and argued against Patrick Henry and the rest of the objectors. So were plain, ordinary members of those State conventions, like Smith of Massachusetts, who called himself "a plain man who gets his living by the plow" and praised the Constitution because it meant relief from such anarchical movements as Shay's Rebellion.

Nor is the majesty of the Constitution in the least diminished by those moderns who labor so hard to persuade us that the Federal Constitution was a capitalist document put over by rich holders of State and national bonds for their own benefit against the interests and desires of the majority of the voters. This talk of a conspiracy of men of wealth to secure a taxing power over the helpless voters is mischievous nonsense. If the Constitution was a product of "the interests," so were the preceding Articles of Confederation and the Declaration of Independence and the Thirteen-State Constitution. If the framers and advocates of the Constitution were gangsters, so were the main advocates of revolution and independence, particularly George Washington. For they were all members of the governing class in the Colonies and early Republic, and many of them were the same men as those who initiated and carried on the Revolution. They were officers in the army, diplomatic representatives of the United

States abroad, Governors of States, leaders in public discussion. The electorate was then, and for forty years longer, small in proportion to the population, but it carried on the Government and was the only political representation at that time of the interests and desires of the American people.

This school of American historical writers who belittle the Constitution has had little effect on public sentiment. The strong tendency nowadays is toward that worship of the Constitution which has struck foreign critics who have visited the country, particularly De Tocqueville, Von Holst and Bryce. We admire the Constitution, believe in the Constitution, all but serenade the Constitution; nowadays school children are brought into the arena to sing peans to the immortal document. Several national societies devote themselves to this propaganda, particularly the National Security League and the American Legion. More than thirty States of the Union have placed upon the statute books laws requiring the teaching of the Constitution in the public schools.

No one can find fault with the desire that the rising generation should have a respect for the form of government under which they live and for the great document in which the principles of the Government of the United States are set forth. Constitutional history is not a subject that allures even college students, but there is much that is lively and interesting in the narrative of the causes which, starting with such an impromptu and unofficial gathering as the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, within twenty-two years reached such a climax as the Federal Constitution. Many were the interesting and racy discussions in the Constitutional Convention and also in the State conventions, which even school children can appreciate. The character and the service of the fathers of the Constitution are an unfailing fund of patriotic feeling. If that is what the schools are to teach, let them have free course.

The present movement is not the attempt to set forth the beauties of the Constitution. Plenty of adult men remember that their early study of the Constitution took the form of learning it by heart. Yet a man may know the Ten Commandments and be very indifferent about applying

them. A whole generation might know the text of the Constitution as an overlong declamation without knowing the Constitution as a rule of government.

This is the time when it is especially desirable that the inner meaning of the Constitution should be taught and learned because of the fallacies that are flying about. One of these is the dangerous notion that there is an inner rule of action which limits not only the Constitution but the power to make a constitution. This takes the form of asserting that it is iniquitous to make amendments to the Constitution of the United States which are contrary to "natural liberty." When confronted with the fact that every man, woman and child in the United States is subject all the time to restrictions, both by the States and by the National Government, the reply is that regulation of human conduct by the Federal Government is tyranny. Nobody can read any discussion of the prohibition controversy without realizing that the Federal Constitution abounds in references to the "States" and their privileges in the Union, and likewise to their duty to accept national control where conferred by the Constitution, whether in the original document or the amendments thereto. That is, the Constitution of the United States is not confined to the Central Government and nobody can understand it who does not know something of the States.

The study of the Constitution also brings out a great number of matters in the document which are not self-explanatory. If you learn it by heart you must use such phrases as "the common law," "impeachments," "a quorum," a "legislative house," "treason, felony and breach of the peace," "habeas corpus," "republican form of government," "jury trial." If a child is old

enough to study the Constitution at all, he is old enough to learn what such words and phrases mean in a non-technical way. Particularly the rising generation must understand that the underpinning of the Constitution is the States; that they have constitutions and that they delegate part of their governing powers to local governments, whose organizing laws and charters again are constitutions.

Still further, the children and the community at large know little of the Constitution if they do not know that outside of its text and adherent to it are multitudes of laws and an elaborate system of legislative, executive and judicial authorities and principles. Beyond that, the Constitution is set in motion by electors, by those who have the suffrage and thus select the persons who are to put the document into effect. That is, it is impossible really to study the Constitution without leading young minds to realize that the document is not the end but the means; that it is a framework within which the Constitution of the country in the vital sense must be put in action. Thus not only may Congress or the President or the courts do something, but they are doing something all the time.

Particularly must children understand that with few exceptions every boy and girl, every man and woman in the country lives not only in the Union but in a State and in a local unit; and that the object of the Constitution is to furnish a peaceful and adequate means of carrying out the great purposes of government. Nothing is accomplished by teaching the Constitution without a sense of it as a rule for living human beings, combined in many ways; in the last resort founded on, exercised by, and existing for human beings who make up the nation.



The Hidden Conflict at the Three-Power Naval Conference

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

CORRESPONDENT OF THE OSAKA *Mainichi* AND THE TOKIO *Nichi-Nichi* AT THE CONFERENCE

THE American-British-Japanese Naval Conference, which commenced its labors at Geneva on June 20, came to an end—a sad and deplorable one—on Aug. 4. In the intervening forty-six days the conference held only three plenary sessions, the rest of the numerous meetings having been secret ones, taking place either behind the closed doors of the Council Hall of the League of Nations or in the private apartments of the respective delegations or, what was more ominous, at various mysterious places unknown even to the inquisitive newspaper correspondents. What really happened at such secret meetings has, of course, been carefully guarded, but enough has leaked out to indicate that they were far from friendly, and that some were attended with scenes which might well be described as dramatic, in which the chief actors were the American and British delegates, with the Japanese anxious but helpless third parties. From the first day it was obvious that the fight was between America and England and that the issue was maritime supremacy. While they found little difficulty in agreeing upon minor matters, they were hopelessly at variance on the essential question of cruisers, the crux of the whole naval problem of today. On that issue the conference came to an impasse only ten days after its opening and the deadlock was never really broken up to the time when the parley adjourned *sine die* without agreement. The third and last plenary session of Aug. 4 was, in fact, a funeral ceremony at which few shed tears, for the sad moment had been anticipated for more than a month.

The first clash came on the very day the conference was opened. Its cause was the British proposal to reduce the size of "any battleships to be built in the future from the present limit of 35,000 tons displacement (agreed upon by the Washington treaty) to something under 30,000 tons," and to extend "the accepted life of existing capital ships from twenty to twenty-six years." This proposal, though apparently reasonable, met with a vigorous opposition

from the American delegation, who argued that the size and replacement age of capital ships were fixed by the Washington treaty, to which, as well as the three major naval Powers, France and Italy were parties, and that the present conference, with those two Continental Powers absent, could not effectively discuss the battleship question. To impartial observers, this American argument was put forth to neutralize the harshness of the real reason behind it, which is the following: Today the British Navy has three superdreadnaughts, the most powerful ever afloat—the Hood (42,000 tons), the Nelson (35,000 tons), and the Rodney (35,000 tons); it is but natural that the American Navy after 1931, as agreed upon at Washington, should want to build two or three capital ships of the same class by scrapping battleships which will have passed the age limit, now fixed at twenty years. Such a measure, as the Americans see it, is both essential and justifiable if the American battleship fleet is to maintain actual, not nominal, parity with the British. That this was the real reason back of the legal or diplomatic argument of the American delegation was recognized by most neutral critics at Geneva.

In this controversy, as on other questions at this conference, Japan had the deciding vote. This, however, she did not wish to use, and for obvious reasons. Japan came to Geneva with the genuine hope that the parley would result in reasonable success. Would that hope have been advanced had Japan taken a decisive attitude against either the United States or Great Britain? Though recognizing to an extent the justice of the British proposal, Japan also knew that America would oppose it, even at the risk of precipitating the rupture of the conference. Japan, therefore, proposed that the question of battleships be discussed only on two conditions—first, that the limitation of auxiliary ships be first disposed of, and, secondly, that the result of deliberations on capital ships should not jeopardize the success of the conference. This, perhaps, was the only attitude Japan

could take. Accepting this view, the conference proceeded with the discussion of auxiliary craft.

Thus the Technical Committee, which was organized on June 21, actually set to work on June 27. But no sooner had it done so than it encountered an insurmountable obstacle in the cruiser problem. When this problem was for the first time taken up in earnest by the Technical Committee, on June 28, it at once became obvious that the views of the American and British representatives could not be reconciled. The American delegation, following their proposal made at the first plenary session on June 20, reiterated their contention that the best method of limitation was to restrict total tonnage of cruisers to a level between 250,000 and 300,000 tons for the United States and Great Britain, and permit each to build within the agreed limit such cruisers in such numbers as might best meet its requirements. Against this principle, the British delegation proposed two types of cruisers—first, a limited number of 10,000-ton cruisers carrying eight-inch guns, and secondly, a limited number of cruisers of a maximum individual displacement of 7,500 tons mounted with a gun armament not exceeding 6 inches in calibre. In later British proposals, this latter displacement was reduced to 6,000 tons.

FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT

Here was a question upon which American-British disagreement was fundamental. America insisted that, owing to lack of naval bases and fuel stations such as are possessed by Great Britain all over the world, she must have large cruisers with wide cruising radius. She believed, moreover, that the restriction of cruisers to 7,500 tons or less, mounted with 6-inch guns, would give Great Britain a distinct advantage, because the great merchant ships, of which the British have many, could in case of emergency easily be converted into fighting craft mounted, according to the Washington Treaty, with 6-inch guns.

The British, on the other hand, contended that "total tonnage is like a pie—it may be a very good thing, but it all depends upon what is inside it. * * * There is no other way of preventing competition in building, except by agreement on maximum size in each type, and the mere fixation of total tonnage or ratios is perfectly useless unless it is accompanied by individual limits in every class." These are words used by Mr. Bridgeman, head of the British delegation. He argued that cruisers of 10,000-

ton displacement and carrying 8-inch guns were essentially weapons of offense, and that, therefore, their number should be limited, possibly by application of the ratio principle. But as to smaller cruisers carrying 6-inch guns, they were essentially defensive weapons—the type of ships required by Great Britain in large numbers to protect her trade lanes and Colonial routes. The British delegation feared that if this classification were not made the United States might utilize most of the tonnage allocated to her in the building of 10,000-ton cruisers, which would compel Great Britain to do likewise at the sacrifice of "unoffensive" smaller cruisers needed to meet her peculiar requirements.

What, then, is the number of cruisers required to meet Great Britain's requirements? At the meeting of the technical committee, held on June 28, the British delegation stated that their country required fifteen 10,000-ton cruisers carrying 8-inch guns, and fifty-five cruisers of the smaller type carrying 6-inch guns, and that if small aircraft carriers and mine layers were included in the cruiser class, it would require five additional vessels. From this statement it was estimated that the total tonnage required by Great Britain in the cruiser class would exceed 600,000 tons. The Americans and Japanese were taken aback by this statement, for the total was twice the maximum which America wanted to fix both for the British Empire and for herself. Japan was particularly alarmed as she had proposed a "naval holiday" on the basis of the *status quo*. It was from that time that feeling began to run high between the British and American delegations, and it was, indeed, the beginning of the failure which was destined to come. Immediately after the meeting of June 28, a member of the American delegation was reported to have remarked: "I suppose the British would count the Mississippi among their trade routes to be protected, if the river weren't flooded." That shows how the American mind reacted to the British statement.

There is little doubt that in auxiliary ships Great Britain wanted to maintain a certain degree of superiority over the American Navy. Only a little over a year ago Mr. Bridgeman himself plainly said so. "There is," he said, "always a little danger in talking about a one-power standard. That only exists in regard to battleships and ships of large size. It would be a very dangerous thing for Great Britain to allow it to be thought that we could be satisfied with a

one-power standard in cruisers, for example. In cruisers we want to feel that we are at any rate superior to other countries and are able to protect our trade." No doubt the British delegation had the same idea when they stated that they required seventy-five cruisers. But when the American delegation pointed out that such a large tonnage would give Great Britain a formidable superiority, and when the American press began to criticize the British proposal in no mild terms, the British, both in Geneva and in London, began to hint that it had never been their thought to claim superiority, and that they were quite willing to concede parity to America. Then the Americans asked: "Parity on what basis?" Had it meant that Great Britain would allow America to build 600,000 tons of cruisers, the conference would have been worse than a farce. To the Americans the acceptance of such an idea was out of the question.

In these circumstances the discussion of the cruiser question was in abeyance from June 28 to July 4. On July 5 the American delegation, hoping to break the deadlock, made a tentative suggestion, at a secret meeting, that Great Britain and America each limit their cruiser tonnage to 400,000 tons, that is, 100,000 tons more than the maximum originally proposed by the American delegation. This was a slip which I have reason to believe the Americans have since sincerely regretted, for such a compromise, if adopted, would have nullified the purpose for which President Coolidge called the conference. When the British asked how many 10,000-ton cruisers America would build out of the suggested total tonnage, the Americans were said to have replied that they wanted twenty-five of such cruisers. Perhaps the Americans did not exactly mean what they said. It is likely that they merely wanted to drive it home to the British that they were quite ready to build, if necessary, as many ships as the British would, for the idea had been current in British circles that the Americans were bluffing and that the United States Congress would never permit the Navy to build up to the British level. The fact remains that the spirit in which such statements were exchanged was deplorable and in fact foredoomed the conference to failure.

AMERICANS' NEW PROPOSALS

In the report of the Technical Committee, made public on July 8, occurs the following enigmatical statement: "Following numerous informal conversations among

the different delegations, the cruiser question was reopened in the Technical Committee on July 5 and the American delegation indicated certain modifications of their original proposal, which they were prepared to consider in the light of other proposals that had been advanced." What does this really mean? What were the "certain modifications indicated" by the American delegation? The answer is found in what I have described in the preceding paragraph. The "certain modifications" were in fact the American suggestion to increase total cruiser tonnage to 400,000 for America and Great Britain. Regrettable as the proffered compromise was, America was perhaps actuated to offer it for the sole purpose of saving the conference. Why, then, was not this modified suggestion clearly stated in the aforesaid report of the Technical Committee? This I shall presently explain.

When the possibility of American-British compromise upon the basis of 400,000 tons for cruisers loomed upon the horizon, the Japanese delegation was alarmed, for the compromise, if adopted, would compel Japan to build much above its present building program and Japan wished to maintain the *status quo*. For this predicament the Japanese delegation were themselves to blame, for they had been beating about the bush and had failed to make plain just how much tonnage they wanted for cruisers and undoubtedly this indecisive attitude had somewhat irritated the American delegation. Accordingly the Japanese, on the afternoon of July 6, improvised a tea party in the apartments of Viscount Saito and invited the American and British delegates. It was a purposeful tea party, for on that occasion the Japanese delegates informally suggested that, in pursuance of the original American proposal, and not the American compromise plan, the aggregate tonnage of cruisers and destroyers be allocated among the three Powers somewhat as follows: Great Britain and America 450,000 tons each, Japan 310,000 tons. At once the Americans endorsed this suggestion as a basis of discussion, for they had never really liked the compromise they had themselves offered. In the Japanese overture, indeed, the American delegation found the way out of the embarrassment. Therefore, on July 7, when the three delegations met to compile a report of the findings of the Technical Committee and the British wanted to put down in black and white the exact nature of the compromise plan proffered by the Americans on July 5, the Americans, having never liked the plan

and now encouraged by Japan's open support of their original proposal, not only wished to withdraw it, but were anxious to eliminate it entirely from the report, arguing that they had not put forth the plan as a proposal, but that it was merely an "indication" of "certain modifications" they had in view. The British contested this statement as evasive and irresponsible and the debate was one of the many dramatic scenes with which this conference was punctuated.

Even more dramatic was reported to have been the scene enacted on July 9 when the British and American delegates engaged in a spirited altercation on the cruiser issue. One of the American delegates reiterated the American idea of limiting total tonnage without classifying individual cruisers by size and gun armament. A British delegate retorted by saying that that was a layman's idea. Another British delegate remarked that expert views on naval limitation were "nonsense." What followed had better be left to the reader's imagination. The neutral but embarrassed Japanese delegation, so as to end the awkward situation, proposed adjournment for the morning and suggested a tea party for the afternoon.

On the following day, July 10, the British delegation brought forth a new proposal, which, to the chagrin of the Americans, was based upon the American "indication of certain modifications," which I have already discussed. Was this a bit of irony or was it offered in good faith? Roughly speaking, the new British plan accepted 400,000 tons as total tonnage limitation for cruisers, of which 110,000 tons was to be devoted to eleven 10,000-ton cruisers and the balance of 290,000 tons to smaller cruisers armed with guns not exceeding six inches in calibre. Had this plan been adopted the United States would have had to build 300,000 tons of new cruisers, Great Britain 100,000 tons and Japan 80,000 tons. It was a plan for naval increase, instead of naval limitation. The Americans, though they had themselves made the mistake of suggesting 400,000 tons on July 5, had practically withdrawn that suggestion, as we have seen. Moreover, they were adamant in opposing any plan which provided for classification of cruisers by size and armament. As for the Japanese, they would not consider any plan which involved so great an increase.

AVOIDING AN OPEN FIGHT

The British delegation, intent upon bringing the fight into the open, proposed a plenary session for the next day, July 11. Had

the suggested session been held, that would have been the end of the conference. The Americans knew it, as did the other delegations, and were anxious to postpone the session, hoping, in the meantime, to find the way out, but Mr. Bridgeman was reluctant to take the initiative for the postponement and told Mr. Gibson, head of the American delegation, to do so. Thus the fate of the conference was quivering in the balance when the shocking news of the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins, an Irish delegate to the conference, reached Geneva on the evening of July 10. The following morning Mr. Gibson called upon Mr. Bridgeman, expressed the American delegation's condolence, and formally proposed the postponement of the plenary session which had been scheduled for the same afternoon.

After three days of constant private conversations between the different delegations the postponed plenary session was held on July 14, only to announce, in effect, that the deadlock had remained unbroken. Mr. Bridgeman and Admiral Jellicoe each made a long speech for the British. Mr. Gibson and Viscount Ishii reiterated the American and Japanese views, respectively. To most impartial observers Admiral Jellicoe's argument, based upon his experience with the German fleet during the World War, was out of place, for the German navy was no more and the conference was deliberating upon the means of ensuring peace.

The most significant of all statements made at the session was the following in Mr. Gibson's address: "We feel that we are in such close agreement with the Japanese delegation with respect to total tonnage limitation and types of the cruiser class that we could easily find a basis of agreement with them. If some basis can be found which is mutually acceptable to the British and Japanese delegations, I feel sure that it will be possible for the American delegation to make the agreement complete."

Plainly the Americans, at odds with the British, had come to pin their hope to Japan as the only possible source of amelioration, but in vain, because Japan's influence, for reasons I shall presently explain, was not as great as it might have been. However, in accordance with the American suggestion, the Japanese and British delegations immediately set to work. During the conversations that followed the British delegation suggested 550,000 as total tonnage limitation for Britain and America in cruisers and destroyers combined. Later this was reduced to 520,000 tons. The

Japanese replied that that was still 70,000 tons too much. What Japan had been insisting upon was 450,000 tons for Great Britain and America and 315,000 tons for Japan in cruisers and destroyers combined. This, however, the British would not accept. Finally, Japan reluctantly compromised upon 500,000 tons for America and Great Britain and 325,000 for Japan.

When, on July 18, the British and Japanese delegations conveyed to the Americans the result of their deliberations the report was circulated in certain quarters that Japan and Great Britain "turned a united front" against America. "The American delegation must put up or shut up" was the sentiment prevailing in such quarters. A British correspondent said to me: "Gibson had pledged himself to observe the agreement which might be made between the British and Japanese; now we have given him the agreement; if he does not take it, he must take the onus for wrecking the conference." As a matter of fact, the American delegation had never said that they would sign on the dotted line regardless of the nature of the agreement between the British and Japanese. Moreover, it was not a hard-and-fast agreement which the British and Japanese submitted to the Americans, but rather a record of their findings and their views, some common, some divergent. The Japanese tentatively agreed with the British upon total tonnage limitation, as I have already stated, as a basis of further discussion with the Americans. Japan also accepted the ratio of 12:12:8 for cruisers of the 10,000-ton type, as proposed by the British, although she preferred the ratio of 10:10:7 or less as proposed by herself. On the much-debated question of gun calibre Japan did not entirely agree with England. Rather she was in sympathy with America in this respect. She reserved the right to mount 8-inch guns on any cruisers capable of carrying such guns. Finally, the British proposal that each of the three Powers be permitted to retain cruisers above sixteen years of age to the extent of 25 per cent. of its total cruiser tonnage was not entirely concurred with by Japan, who knew that this plan would meet with strong opposition from America. Under this plan Britain would retain in commission 125,000 tons of cruisers technically obsolescent but comparatively "young" and fairly efficient. This would, in effect, bring the total tonnage of the British fleet of surface auxiliary craft up to 626,000 tons and destroy the parity apparently conceded to America. True,

America was to have the same privilege, but the privilege was of little practical value to her, because most of her obsolescent cruisers were really obsolescent, having been built between 1897 and 1908, whereas British ships of the corresponding class were of much later construction.

THE "SAFEGUARD" CLAUSE

As to the way in which the American delegation received the so-called British-Japanese "agreement," they were not uncompromising on the question of total tonnage limitation, but on the question of classifying cruisers according to individual displacement and gun calibre were as determined as ever to stand by their original contention. In order, however, to obviate the British apprehension that, in the absence of such classification, America might use most of the allocated tonnage for 10,000-ton cruisers, the American delegation, presumably at the instance of Mr. Dulles, offered on July 18 the now famous "safeguard" clause, which was later reduced to the following form:

In the event that prior to Dec. 31, 1936, any one of the Contracting Powers shall consider that the tonnage allocation in the cruiser class has been utilized by any other of the Contracting Powers in a manner to call for an adjustment of the total tonnage allocation of that class, such High Contracting Party may, at any time subsequent to Jan. 31, 1931, and upon six months' prior notice, convoke a meeting of the Powers Parties to the present Treaty, with a view to ascertaining whether such an adjustment can be made by mutual agreement. In the event that no agreement is reached at such a Conference any of the High Contracting Parties may give notice of the desire to terminate the present convention, and this notification shall be effective within one year after the receipt thereof by the other Parties to the Treaty. In such an event the Treaty shall terminate with respect to all the Parties thereof.

Thus the Americans endeavored to save the conference and to arrive at an agreement upon the basis of the total tonnage limitation which they had consistently advocated. Viscount Cecil was in sympathy with this idea, but he was ruled out by other British delegates. So the deadlock was not broken, and in the midst of the suspense Mr. Bridgeman and Viscount Cecil, on July 20, suddenly left for London to confer with their Government. As they were gone for a full week, during which they sent no word to the delegations that remained in Geneva, naturally the Americans were more or less irritated. The British delegates at last came back on the morning of July 28 and on the same afternoon met

the Japanese and American delegates at the residence of Mr. Y. Sugimura, head of the Political Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. At this meeting the British presented a modified plan which they brought back from London—a plan which though mainly based upon the “agreement” with the Japanese delegation, contained certain new features, making the whole plan more unacceptable than the previous ones.

Thus the stage had been reached where the three delegations had to consider how they could close the conference apparently in friendly spirit and in a manner to forestall competitive building before the Powers should meet again in 1931. To find such a formula the plenary session was postponed until Aug. 4. In the meantime Japan suggested a *modus vivendi*, the purpose of which was to limit naval construction by Great Britain and herself to their respective program now in effect. In the case of the United States, the Japanese proposal, taking cognizance of her cruiser deficiency, recognized her right to build up to parity with the British cruiser fleet. The proposal also limited 10,000-ton cruisers to 12:12:8 ratio. The British were favorably inclined toward this plan, but the Americans had by now evidently made up their minds to end the conference without any agreement. Thus the conference ended on Aug. 4 without even a *modus vivendi* having been arrived at.

Looking back over the perspective of the forty-six days following June 20, one may reasonably admit that Japan played a useful rôle at this conference and that she has emerged from it with her prestige considerably enhanced. However, she would have been far more useful and have exercised greater influence had she come to the conference with a definite and statesman-like program and made her position unmistakable at the very beginning. The regrettable fact was that the Japanese proposal presented at the first plenary session was wholly unconvincing and uninspiring, and showed not a spark of the idealism essential to moral leadership. The plan itself was simple enough, but was crudely worked out, clumsily expressed and perplexingly vague, requiring repeated perusal before it could be understood even by naval experts.

THE JAPANESE PLAN

Even so, it was far more reasonable than the British plan, and could, without difficulty, have harmonized with the Amer-

ican. Stated in a sentence, it proposed a “naval holiday” on the basis of the *status quo*. Apply this to the cruiser, the crux of the naval problem at this conference. Roughly, Great Britain has 330,000 tons of first-line cruisers (under fifteen years of age) built, building and projected; Japan has 190,000 tons, and America 155,000 tons, including six appropriated for but not yet building. Now the original American plan allocates 250,000 to 300,000 tons each to England and America, 150,000 to 180,000 tons to Japan. Therefore, it would not have been difficult, had Great Britain been willing to scale down British and Japanese cruiser tonnage, in conformity with the Japanese plan, to the higher or even the lower level proposed by America. Since America has only 155,000 tons of cruisers, including six not yet building, she would have to add a large tonnage to attain parity with Great Britain. This, the Japanese explained, could be done by allowing America to scrap her superfluous destroyers, for the Japanese plan used a “global” method of estimation, combining cruisers and destroyers. In the judgment of many, including the Japanese, Japan made a great mistake in failing to come out squarely for the 5:5:3 ratio. Had she done this she would have spoken in language which no one could have failed to respect.

To the last the American and British delegations remained in contentious mood, each contradicting the statements of the other, even at the final plenary session. Nevertheless, it is at least consoling that the conference closed with a joint declaration in which the three delegations expressed the “conviction that the obstacles that have been encountered should not be accepted as terminating the effort to bring about a further limitation of naval armament,” and that “the measure of agreement which has been reached, as well as the work which has been done in clarifying their respective positions, will make it possible, after consultation between the Governments, to find a basis for reconciling divergent views leading to the early conclusion of an agreement for the limitation of auxiliary naval vessels which will permit of substantial economy and, while safeguarding national security, promote the feeling of mutual confidence and good understanding.” With the will to peace in the minds of all concerned, the way will surely be found to attain the desired end when the Powers meet again in 1931, if not sooner.

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Great Britain's Opposition to the Freedom Of the Seas

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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TO build or not to build: no question of greater importance is likely to be presented to Congress during the coming session. Because we have failed in this attempt to reach a solution of the problem of the cruiser, are we to be stam-peded into a naval competition expensive for the taxpayer and menacing to world peace? It was the German Chancellor Caprivi who said, when von Tirpitz was urging the expansion of the fleet: "With such a naval policy they * * * will end by bringing us into conflict with England, our only natural ally. * * * For Germany, now and in the immediate future, the only naval question is how small our fleet can be, not how big." The years 1914 to 1918 were a tragic testimony to his wisdom. No doubt our present relation to the British Empire does not furnish a complete parallel, but there are sufficient points of similarity to give us cause to heed his warning. There is no use to dodge the fact that there is a strong element in this country who support a "big navy" program, and they will make themselves heard in the next Congress. They will use every argument and array every passion in support of their policy. To combat them will be no easy task, for the consciousness of our national strength has gone to our heads and we are dangerously self-assertive and intolerant of foreign opinion.

On both sides of the water the comment of the leading statesmen and men of affairs has been restrained and admirable. President Coolidge, Mr. Dawes, Secretary Kellogg and Secretary Wilbur have expressed themselves as strongly opposed to the beginning of naval competition and as favoring further attempts to secure agreement. In Great Britain governmental leaders have been unanimous in stressing similar opinions. Not unnaturally, on both sides, there has been a tendency to place the blame for the failure on the shoulders of the other party. The British are unable to see in our position anything other than a desire for national prestige, a yielding to sinister influences behind our "big navy" party, and they accuse us of a complete lack of appreciation of their unique geo-

graphical position. They point to the long lines of communication which unite the various parts of the empire, to the imperative necessity for maintaining these lines; they repeat the not entirely ingenuous statement that the small cruiser is solely a weapon of defense; they stress the fact that whereas in 1914 they had 114 cruisers, they are now proposing to have but seventy. By no means all the comment is, however, of this character. Ramsay MacDonald, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, very forcefully insists that the failure resulted from the fact that the conference placed disarmament before security; and he urges a return to the principle of the protocol. Sir Gilbert Murray, in the same paper, declares that the meeting was treated as a "departmental conference between the Admiralties instead of a matter of high policy between the Governments." He takes the British Government severely to task for refusing to sign the optional clause providing for arbitration before the International Court and for failing to support similar undertakings. Two quotations from the London *Nation* of Aug. 13 are worth recording, as they have an application as forceful to us as to Great Britain: "If we sincerely desire the limitation of armament, we must be ready to sacrifice, we and all other nations, not anything of real security but something of our pride." On another page that paper says: "The Rush-Bagot Treaty [disarming the United States-Canadian border] remains an outstanding illustration of the fact that the boldest, most imaginative and most idealistic policy may prove also the most realistic and the most practical."

Of even greater significance than these utterances is the action of Viscount Cecil in resigning his place in the Cabinet on account of disagreement with his colleagues over the instructions under which he was compelled to act at Geneva; and with their attitude toward the whole question of international cooperation. The letter, in which he resigned on Aug. 29, contains these striking words:

On the broad policy of disarmament the majority of the Cabinet and I are not really

agreed. I believe that general reduction and limitation of armament is essential to the peace of the world, and that on that peace depends not only the existence of the British Empire but even of European civilization itself. * * * I do not say that it should be bought at any price. But I do say that it is of greater value than any other political object. * * * Over and over again I was compelled by my instructions to maintain propositions in the [Preparatory] Commission that were difficult to reconcile with any serious desire for the success of its labors. * * * [In the Three-Power Conference] I believe an agreement might have been reached on terms that would have sacrificed no essential British interest.

Lord Cecil's character and record are such as to give his action great importance. He is about the last man in England to be accused of hot-headedness and precipitation. No family in the empire has had longer or more distinguished political experience, or a more sustained record for thoughtful conservatism. His statements, coupled with those already quoted, are evidence that disarmament is not a party but a national question. How effective this opinion will be is still to be seen.

Another point of view, and one of the most fundamental importance, was expressed in a statement by Harrison Barrow, Chairman of the National Association for the Prevention of War. He quotes Admiral Niblack, writing for *Brassey's Annual* in 1924, who said that the principle of "the freedom of the seas, an old-time slogan of American foreign policy, all went glimmering during the World War, but the United States has taken the lesson to heart." Mr. Barrow continues:

It is this question of blockade rights which, more than anything else, has led to the breakdown of the Coolidge conference. We have claimed at the conference that we need to increase our number of light cruisers purely for defense of trade routes, but Americans know perfectly well that these are instruments of offense in a blockade. The Americans have claimed at the conference that they need a lot of heavy cruisers, and though W. C. Bridgeman politely professes that he does not know why, the reason is plain enough. The challenge to our claims in regard to blockades has never been withdrawn.

But we wish to suggest that a mere revision of the laws of war at sea would not be sufficient, and that it would almost certainly present insuperable difficulties now as in 1909, unless accompanied by a more radical change. If we begin by revising the attempt to cut the blockade weapon arbitrarily in half, if we try to reconcile neutral and belligerent claims by means of moral distinctions between State and private property, or between civil and military supplies, then we shall be courting such disaster as overtook the fine effort of Lord Loreburn

and his fellow-workers twenty years ago. What we have now to do is surely to renounce the right to private blockade altogether, accepting without reserve President Wilson's definition of freedom of the seas.

This gets down to fundamentals, whether or not it is immediately a matter of practical politics. If we accept the theory of blockade developed by the British during the war, neutrality for any nation engaged in world trade becomes impossible. We must be, in effect, their allies or we must join with their enemies. If we submit, when the test comes, we lend our shipping for their use; if we resist, we cease to be neutral.

The war has left those rules of international law which relate to the sea in a parlous state. On both sides the right was claimed to rewrite those principles to suit what were regarded as the necessities of the occasion. We at first resisted, and when we entered the war acquiesced in the British revision of these rules. We never accepted them. We declared war on Germany because of her attempt to enforce other modifications. There is now complete uncertainty as to what the law of blockade actually is, and in that uncertainty there is grave danger.

The first enunciation of the principle of "free ships, free goods" was by Prussia in 1752. It was restated by Russia in 1780 and formed the basis of the League of Armed Neutrality, which consisted at first of Russia and Denmark, but was later joined by

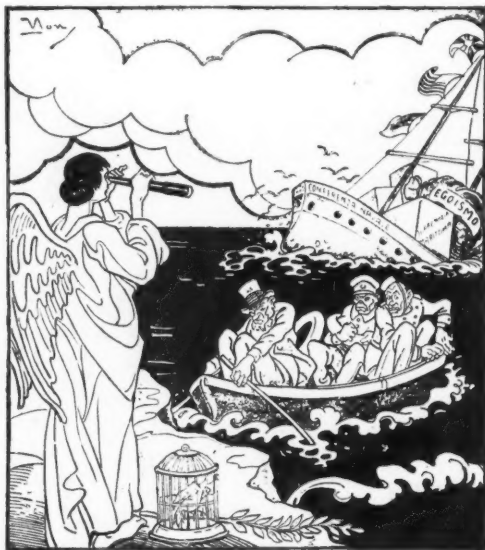


"RULE BRITANNIA, COLUMBIA, RULES THE WAVES!"

—The Star, London

Sweden, Holland, Prussia, Portugal and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Its principles were later accepted by France, Spain, Austria and the United States. In the first years of the nineteenth century the British, by their Orders in Council, and Napoleon, by the Berlin and Milan Decrees, all but ruined our commerce. We protested, and later fought the War of 1812 to free ourselves from these burdens. The law of the sea remained inchoate until, at the close of the Crimean War, it was formulated in the Declaration of Paris. This Declaration established the principles that neutral flags cover enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war; that neutral goods, except contraband, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag, and that blockade to be binding must be effective. This Declaration was unchanged for half a century. Our delegates at The Hague Conference of 1907 were instructed to attempt to secure agreement to the principle that private property, with the exception of contraband, "shall be exempt from capture or seizure on the high seas or elsewhere," except when it attempts to enter a legally blockaded port. As no satisfactory definition resulted the British Government, the following year, seeing that the developing doctrine required restatement, called the conference that resulted in the Declaration of London.

This document defined particularly the



A BOAT WHICH DOES NOT REACH PORT

Peace: "My dear sirs, with such a cargo of selfishness and demands for maritime supremacy, shipwreck is inevitable."

—Il 420, Florence



THE ONE WHO REJOICES

The failure of the Three-Power Naval Conference

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

right of blockade and the subordinate principles of right of search, continuous voyage, convoy and so forth, and included extensive lists of goods classified as contraband, conditional contraband, and those which under no circumstances are to be declared contraband. Although the Declaration was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the ten nations present and was ratified by most of them; and although the bill making it effective passed the House of Commons, it was rejected by the Lords and in consequence the whole agreement was nullified. In August, 1914, Ambassador Page was instructed to inquire of the British Government whether they would be willing to apply the rules of the Declaration of London during the "present conflict," provided Germany and Austria would give a like assurance. Similar notes were of course sent to the other belligerents. Germany and Austria at once agreed, but the Allied Governments incorporated in their replies changes and reservations so extensive that, in the opinion of President Wilson, it was wiser to revert to the Declaration of Paris. He accordingly withdrew the suggestion. By a succession of Proclamations and Orders in Council the British Government, although it never formally declared a blockade, modified the rules governing its relation to neutral commerce and the lists



SOMETHING WRONG WITH THE MAGICIAN'S ACT
—New York Telegram

international action for the enforcement of international covenants." The effect of this principle would be, of course, to sweep away all of the tattered fabric of the law of blockade, to deprive individual States of the right to invoke it, and to centre the authority for its determination and administration on some league of nations. All the world knows how far the nations who drafted the Peace Treaty departed from the principles which they had virtually agreed upon the year before.

We have the League of Nations, but it can never function properly so long as the United States is outside. We have the Court of International Justice, but refuse to submit ourselves to it. The Protocol failed because Great Britain would not adhere. International law remains in chaotic condition and the movement for its codification still lags. The Preparatory Commission

of contraband so as completely to change their character. Later, Germany attempted to enforce other and even more irritating innovations. Against the practices which followed these rules, our Government continually protested. On both sides the belligerents arraigned the breaches of international law of their enemies and justified their own on the plea of necessity.

In an address to Congress on Jan. 8, 1918, President Wilson enunciated the famous Fourteen Points, the second of which read as follows: "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and war, except as the sea may be closed in whole or in part by

on Disarmament has had meagre results, and the Coolidge Conference failed because the nations have been unwilling to yield anything of their present advantage to the common good of the future. It is a tragedy that the two nations which are loudest in their protestations of a desire for peace should show themselves so unwilling to make the sacrifice necessary for the purpose of its attainment.

There is no necessity for discouragement, however. Real progress always moves with lagging feet. Another attempt to solve the problem may be made in Geneva in November, and still others are sure to follow. If not, the future is dark indeed.

THE EIGHTH ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

PROPOSALS for the outlawing of war imparted a high element of interest to the Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations almost as soon as it convened in Geneva on Sept. 5. Though a Latin-American, Alberto N. Guani, Uruguay, was elected President, it was noted that, in addition to Spain, the other countries that were not represented by delegations were all Latin-American republics, namely, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Honduras and Peru. Unexpectedly the question of disarmament was brought up at the opening session by Jonkheer Belaerts van Blokland, the Foreign Minister of Holland, who

urged that the Geneva Protocol should be brought up to date in the form of new resolutions which should be adopted before the Assembly adjourned. Greater importance, however, attached to the Polish plan to outlaw war, first made public on Sept. 7. After being considered and revised by the legal experts of the British, French, German and other delegations, it was found unacceptable by the Poles when handed back in emasculated form. Foreign Minister Zaleski, who had been prevented by illness from going to Geneva, thereupon telegraphed from Warsaw an entirely new draft of the resolution, which was received

by M. Sokal, chief of the Polish delegation, on Sept. 8:

Recognizing the solidarity which unites the Commonwealth of Nations, inspired by a strong will to insure the maintenance of universal peace, affirming that war ought never to serve as a means of settlement for disputes between nations and that, therefore, a war of aggression represents an international crime, and considering that solemn renunciation of all war of aggression would be an excellent means of creating an atmosphere of general confidence eminently favorable to the procedure and development of the work begun along the lines of disarmament, the Assembly declares as follows:

All wars of aggression are forbidden.

The Assembly declares that States members of the League of Nations assume the obligation to conform to this principle.

In consequence the Assembly invites States members of the League of Nations to proceed to the conclusion of compacts of non-aggression, inspired by the idea that pacific means should be employed for the settlement of differences of every kind arising between States.

M. Sokal was instructed to present this draft to the Assembly without change, and, if it were found unacceptable, to declare that Poland favored the resolution presented on Sept. 5 by the Dutch Foreign Minister demanding the revival of the Geneva Protocol of 1924, which was even more unacceptable to the Great Powers than the Polish plan. After negotiations with the statesmen of the Great Powers which disappointed earlier hopes, the Polish delegates persisted in their purpose and on the evening of Sept. 9 introduced their resolution in the Assembly. Owing to apprehension that their original demand for pacts of non-aggression might be interpreted as an attempt to revise the Geneva Protocol, which expired after opposition emanating particularly from Great Britain, the Polish delegates eliminated this feature from their proposal, but M. Sokal pleaded vigorously with the Assembly to approve his declaration outlawing war, believing that it would at least have a great moral force and would strengthen the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Dr. Gustav Stresemann, the German

Foreign Minister, created a great impression by his declaration that Germany would accept the compulsory arbitration clause of the World Court. This move was of special interest to America because of the controversy over this country's adherence to the World Court, the decision of the United States to join under reservations, and the virtual rejection by the nations already members of the Court of the American offer to join. Thirty-three States have signed the compulsory arbitration clause, although some of the Parliaments have not yet voted ratification and although France signed on condition that it should be effective only if the Geneva Protocol saw the light. In his speech Dr. Stresemann declared that Germany would not only travel along the road of peace, but would seek to be a pioneer in everything that pertained to peace. When he concluded, Dr. Stresemann received a remarkable ovation, M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, shaking hands with him in the most enthusiastic manner. The same day was notable also for another of M. Briand's great orations on peace—"the mystic force of peace." It was an extemporaneous address at the international journalists' annual luncheon, electrifying all who heard it and helping to add to the impetus noticeable in Geneva during these days toward finding new means to insure peace throughout the world.

Nevertheless, in the speeches of many distinguished delegates representing smaller nations, there was trenchant criticism of the attitude of the Great Powers in regard to disarmament, the secrecy of the Council, the tendency of the larger nations to settle vital powers among themselves and other matters in which the League was not being permitted to develop as it should.

At the session of the Council of the League on Sept. 9 the number of members of the Mandates Commission were raised from nine to ten to enable Germany to be represented and to have a voice in the administration of the colonies she lost through the war.



Activities of the League of Nations

By JAMES G. MacDONALD

PRESIDENT, FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK

IN past years, the summer months between the meeting of the Council in June and of the Assembly in September have been very quiet, but this year there was a change. Late in June the Three-Power Naval Conference met, and lasted until early August. In July came the Conference for the Creation of an International Relief Union, the plenary meeting of the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation, an extraordinary session of the League's Economic Committee, and the meeting of three smaller commissions. In late August the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit and the Conference of Press Experts were convened, and both of them were events of the first magnitude.

The Conference of Press Experts—The calling of this conference was undertaken with some apprehension. The parties to be convened were not Governments but private business organizations working at the common trade of news with all the differences of national methods and points of view. The question was whether there was a desire to have those differences removed. The response was decisive. More than a hundred delegates, including fourteen Americans, attended the conference, representing the press of thirty-six nations. The meeting was so large that it was held in the hall of the Assembly. The conference can be fairly described as the most powerful and important gathering in newspaper history. In 1925, the Assembly adopted a resolution of the delegate from Chile asking the Council to consider the desirability of summoning a committee of experts representing the press of the world to see if common action were possible toward improving international press relations as a step toward moral disarmament. These experts, representing heads of government press bureaus, directors of news agencies and journalists, met in August, 1926, and January, 1927, with the result that the Council, in March of this year, decided to summon the conference, which met on Aug. 24, under the Presidency of Lord Burnham of the London *Daily Telegraph*.

The scope of the work crystallized by the experts contemplated first of all the improvement of facilities for the press and its representatives. This included the re-

duction of rates charged for telegraph, telephone and wireless communications, the improvement of the methods of communication, the question of coding messages and of censorship in time of peace, and easier traveling facilities for journalists. The conference passed detailed resolutions on these subjects which were referred to the Council or to the proper committees of the League for further action.

The second branch of the work dealt with the question of protecting newspapers and news agencies against the theft of information which they have obtained by their own industry. In many of the European countries it is felt that news is property, the theft of which can be made a misdemeanor punishable by fine. The Supreme Court of the United States, however, has held that the unauthorized reproduction of news is an act of unfair competition. The conference was, therefore, temporarily divided on the question of whether protection of news should be based upon a legal property right or upon unfair competition. A compromise resolution was eventually adopted by a unanimous vote to the effect that the publication of news was legitimate when such news had been acquired regularly and not by an act of unfair competition, and that no one might acquire the right of suppressing news of public interest. It also declared that full protection should be granted to unpublished news or news in course of transmission or publication, and that there should be no preferential right in official governmental news. The conference was further of opinion that the question of protection of published news was one for the decision of the several Governments, and that, though news agencies were entitled to the reward of their labor both before and after publication, this principle should not be interpreted to create a monopoly in news. The conference, in conclusion, felt it desirable that the Council of the League should request the Governments to consider an international agreement in the matter. The conference adjourned on Aug. 29.

Third General Conference on Communications and Transit—The Advisory and Technical Committee of the League on this subject met on Aug. 19 to consider the facilitation of communications with the

seat of the League in times of emergency; the installation of a wireless station for the League; the improvement of telephonic relations between Geneva and other capitals of Europe; and the equipment of a landing field for aircraft near Geneva. The Third General Conference convened on Aug. 23, the United States being represented by a delegation including Hugh R. Wilson, United States Minister to Switzerland; Chauncey G. Parker, Counsel of the United States Shipping Board, and Norman F. Titus, Chief of the Division of Transport, Department of Commerce, and expert for the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Conference considered a systematic collection and distribution of information concerning communications and transit, revision of the rules of organization and the rules of procedure adopted at the First Conference, the renewal of the composition of the Committee on Communications and Transit, and identity papers for persons without nationality.

Permanent Court of International Justice—The Court has handed down a decision in the Chorzow Factory case. Germany recently brought suit against Poland, asking for damages arising out of Poland's seizure of a nitrate factory at Chorzow, an action which the Court in 1926 held not to be in conformity with the Geneva Convention of 1922 relative to the partition of Upper Silesia. Poland then raised an objection to the Court's jurisdiction on the general ground that the Geneva Conven-

tion confers jurisdiction upon a tribunal created by it. The judgment of the Court upholds its jurisdiction, and thus leaves the case open for consideration of the merits.

The Saar—The Saar Governing Commission filed its thirtieth report during August. It shows a marked decrease in unemployment and the evacuation of all but eight hundred French, English and Belgian soldiers from the district. The French military force known as the "Saar Garrison" has been disbanded. The report indicates a general improvement in existing conditions.

Combined Air and Rail Transport—The Sub-Committee on this subject met early in August, and considered the possibilities of having a single contract to cover the transport of goods partly by rail and partly by air. During the necessary investigation, the committee recommended the adoption of the new German system, whereby the sender contracts only with the air transport company, which then concludes secondary contracts with the other companies.

Customs Nomenclature—The Sub-Committee of experts on the Unification of Customs Nomenclature met at Geneva on Aug. 22 to consider ways and means of establishing a systematic nomenclature covering all kinds of wares. This work finds its inspiration in a resolution passed by the International Economic Conference which met in May.

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.

THE UNITED STATES

The Execution of Sacco and Vanzetti

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

LATELY LECTURER ON AMERICAN HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE twelve days of respite granted by Governor Alvan T. Fuller of Massachusetts on Aug. 10 to Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were devoted by counsel and friends to persistent and almost frantic efforts to save the lives of the condemned men, but without success. On Aug. 16 four Justices of the State Supreme Court, specially convened and sitting as a full bench, heard arguments on the exceptions taken by counsel to the decisions of Judge Webster Thayer of the Superior Court and Justice George A. Sander-

son of the Supreme Court. In the early morning of that day the house of Louis McHardy, one of the eleven living jurors who convicted Sacco and Vanzetti, was wrecked by a bomb, and on that account the Court House at Boston was heavily guarded. On Aug. 19 the final appeal to the State courts was rejected on every count.

In anticipation of an adverse decision, preparations had been made to bring the case before the Federal courts, but the following day saw three successive failures. Judge James M. Morton Jr. of the Federal

District Court denied an application for a writ of habeas corpus or a stay of execution; Associate Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the United States Supreme Court also refused to grant a stay of execution, and the Clerk of the Supreme Court at Washington declined to receive a petition for a writ of certiorari, preparatory to a review of the case in that court, because the petition was not accompanied by the records which the rules of the court require. Later, but too late, the petition was received.

On Aug. 21 an appeal was made to Associate Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court, but he declined to act "because of his personal relations to some of the people who had been interested in the case." A hurried journey was then made by counsel to the Summer home of Associate Justice Harlan F. Stone of the same court, in Maine, who also declined to intervene, as did Chief Justice Taft, who was appealed to by telegraph at his Summer home at Murray Bay, Canada. There remained only the last resort of an appeal to Governor Fuller for clemency. To the dramatic pleas of Mrs. Sacco and Luigia Vanzetti, sister of the condemned man, the Governor replied: "I am sorry. My duties are outlined by law." At 11:03 o'clock on the night of Aug. 22 Governor Fuller informed Michael Musmanno of the defense counsel that he would not intervene. Shortly after midnight the sentence of death by electrocution was carried out at the State Prison at Charlestown, immediately following the execution of Celestino F. Madeiros, a young Portuguese who had declared that he was present at the time of the South Braintree murders and that Sacco and Vanzetti were not there, and who had been seven times granted a respite because of his confession. His crime was the murder of a bank cashier.

The organized expressions of sympathy or protest which had multiplied rapidly and

widely, both in this country and abroad during July and the first weeks of August, continued until the last moment, but with waning vigor as hope of judicial intervention or executive clemency faded. Extraordinary precautions for the protection of public buildings and prominent individuals, relaxed somewhat when a stay was granted on Aug. 10, were renewed as it became apparent that the death penalty would be inflicted, and parades and other demonstrations in a number of cities were ruthlessly broken up by the police. It was reported on Aug. 26 that officials of the Federal Department of Labor had found, after a hurried survey, that only "a very small percentage of the persons who took part in the protest demonstrations" were aliens, "the leaders and the rank and file of the various groups" being American citizens who did not belong to any organization but appeared to be animated solely by zeal for "the cause."

The funeral procession which, on Aug. 28, followed the remains of Sacco and Vanzetti eight miles across the City of Boston in the rain to the Forest Hills Cemetery, where the bodies were cremated, numbered some 7,000 persons, while 200,000 more, it was estimated, lined the streets through which the procession passed. The march was attended with frequent collisions with the police and State Constabulary, and at the cemetery mounted police charged a section of the crowd. In New York, where some 10,000 persons attempted, in defiance of police orders, to march downtown from Union Square to view death masks of the two men, the procession was dispersed. The American Civil Liberties Union, in a statement issued on Sept. 2, characterized as "an all-time, all-American record for the ruthless violation of the constitutional rights of free speech and assemblage" the action of the police at Boston, New York, Cheswick, Pa.; Chicago, Washington and Los Angeles.

MR. COOLIDGE AND HIS POLICIES

NOTWITHSTANDING a growing conviction that Mr. Coolidge's announcement of his decision not to run for the Presidency in 1928 was final, and an intimation from Rapid City that a statement would in due time be forthcoming withdrawing his name from consideration in the State primaries, the Republicans have apparently taken no steps to focus public opinion upon any other candidate,

and in general have seemed to be very much at sea. Newspaper correspondents who have visited most of the States of the Central West and Northwest have reported a good deal of unorganized support for Secretary Hoover, crossed, however, by significant advocacy of the claims of Vice President Dawes and former Governor Lowden of Illinois. The last two, as it happens, are lifelong friends, and neither,



UNCLE SAM IS GUESSING AGAIN
—The Star, Montreal

it is believed, is likely to oppose the candidacy of the other.

The return from Europe on Sept. 5 of Charles E. Hughes, on the other hand, gave occasion for some expressions which seemed to indicate that Mr. Coolidge might, after all, consent to be a candidate, and that, if he did not, Mr. Hughes might reconsider his own statement in May that he was "too old" to run and that he would "neither seek nor accept" a nomination. "I am still of the opinion," Mr. Hughes told the press representatives, "that Mr. Coolidge will be renominated and re-elected, and I am for that." Nothing in what Mr. Coolidge had said, he went on to explain, seemed to him to preclude "action by the Republican National Convention to put him up for another term." Asked whether, in that event, his own attitude as previously expressed would be changed, he replied: "As I see it, no such conclusion would be justified, and under the circumstances I see no reason why any one should add to or enlarge upon what I have already said."

In the meantime Mr. Coolidge, with his Summer vacation in the Black Hills drawing to a close, cautiously disclosed some of the points of his legislative program for Congress. On Sept. 2 he was reported as of the opinion that the manifesto tariffs

and other restrictive trade barriers, issued some months ago by a representative group of European and American bankers, had no reference to the American protective tariff policy, but were directed at the European situation only. A similar interpretation, it was said, was to be placed upon the tariff declarations of the recent International Economic Conference at Geneva. The next day Mr. Coolidge let it be known that he was opposed to the demand for tariff revision put forward with special insistence in a number of Western States.

The preliminary budget estimates for 1929, prepared by General Herbert M. Lord, Director of the Budget, and approved by President Coolidge on Aug. 11, confirmed the view that the exceptionally large surplus at the present time could not be expected to continue. The budget estimated the receipts of the Treasury at \$3,775,000,000 and the expenditures at \$3,561,000,000, leaving an estimated surplus of only \$214,000,000. The limit of estimated expenditures announced by Mr. Coolidge when he addressed the business organization of the Government in June was \$3,300,000,000.

Particular interest attached to the budget situation because of the expectation that Mr. Coolidge, now that the Geneva Conference on Limitation of Naval Armament



THE COMING POLITICAL RODEO
—Chicago Daily News

had failed, would favor going on with the program of naval construction regarding which he had found himself in disagreement with Congress at the close of the last session. The army and navy estimates of the 1929 budget have not yet been made public, but the Director of the Budget stated that Mr. Coolidge had approved the construction of all the naval vessels that had been authorized, except three experimental submarines. This new construction includes eight 10,000-ton cruisers, already contracted for but delayed in building pending the outcome of the Geneva parley, the modernization of two battleships and the beginning of a five-year aviation program intended to give the navy 1,000 fighting planes and the army 1,600.

President Coolidge has been several times represented as anxious to avoid committing the country to a program of competitive naval building, but it is nevertheless clear that the breakdown of the Geneva conference has greatly encouraged the "big navy" advocates in Congress, and that increased

pressure is likely to be put upon the President to sanction further construction. Senator Fess of Ohio, hitherto a recognized spokesman for the Administration in the Senate, declared in an interview at Rapid City on Aug. 10 that "the American people will demand a navy equally as effective as that of Great Britain," and that Mr. Coolidge "cannot very easily oppose Congress if it should enter on a naval program that would extend the spirit of the 1922 naval treaty to auxiliary craft." Mr. Coolidge himself was reported on Aug. 16 as blaming the last Congress for not adopting his suggestion for the authorization, although not for the immediate building, of ten heavy cruisers, instead of making appropriations only for the immediate construction of the cruisers already authorized. Had his suggestion been followed, he was represented as believing, he would have been in a position to proceed with the actual construction of what Congress, which opposed the suggestion, chose to describe as merely a "paper" navy.

FLOOD AND FARM RELIEF

SUBSTANTIAL increases in Federal expenditure beyond the budget estimates, irrespective of any reductions that Congress may make in existing taxes, have been foreshadowed by the necessity of making large provision for flood relief and protection and by the wide demand for greater Federal aid to agriculture.

An emergency proposal, backed by the President, the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers, to transfer to the Mississippi River Flood Commission an unexpended balance of \$2,000,000 from the appropriation for rivers and harbors was balked about the middle of August by the refusal of the Controller General, John R. McCarl, to sanction the transfer, and the Commission was left with insufficient funds to close the breaks in the levees. A summary statement issued on Aug. 28 by the Department of Agriculture gave the extent of the flooded area in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana as 4,417,500 acres in 124 counties or parishes. Losses of live stock included 25,325 horses and mules, 50,490 cattle, 148,110 swine, 1,300 sheep and 1,276,570 fowl. The crop losses were not reported, it not being known as yet how much of the replanting would be successful, but in 1926 the flooded area showed approximately 2,600,000 acres in cotton, 1,100,000 acres in corn, 360,000

acres in hay and 370,000 acres in other crops.

Secretary Hoover, who made another inspection of the flood area early in Septem-



FARM RELIEF

The West to the East: "You're looking through the wrong end."

—New York World

ber, was reported to have found about one-half of the region bankrupt, with no crops worth mentioning, more than 60,000 persons still dependent upon the Red Cross for food and clothing, many thousands more living from hand to mouth, some 50,000 of the poorer sufferers victims of pellagra and a serious financial problem due to unpaid and uncollectable taxes. In three of the six States affected it was believed to be impossible for the people living behind the levees to pay the one-half of the cost of construction, maintenance and repair required by law, and special financial assistance was needed if the interest on upward of \$40,000,000 of levee and drainage bonds, together with the general State and local taxes, were to be met. It seemed probable, however, that banking or other private loans would be forthcoming in considerable amount as a result of Mr. Hoover's representations, in anticipation of an appropriation by Congress.

The question of farm relief, insistently pressed upon the attention of Mr. Coolidge during his vacation in the West, has made no real advance beyond the discussion stage. An article by Secretary of Agriculture Jardine in a representative farm journal en-

dorsing the principal feature of the Farm Relief bill, the text of which was published on Aug. 6, was widely reprinted and commented upon, but Mr. Coolidge, although continuing his pronounced opposition to the McNary-Haugen bill, has refrained from any statement definitely committing the Administration to the support of any particular measure.

In an elaborate report submitted to Mr. Coolidge on Aug. 30 the American Society of Agricultural Engineers declared that Federal financial aid and price-fixing were incapable of solving the farm problem. The report dwelt particularly upon the waste involved in present agricultural methods and urged the desirability of a thorough and comprehensive engineering survey of agriculture similar to that which the American Engineering Council has successfully applied to industry. Such a survey, which the Society volunteered to undertake and which it was thought would require five years, would deal with "organization, management, production, elimination of waste, utilization of new products, standardization and simplification, cost accounting, effect of seasonal operations and business cycles, marketing and sales, finance and credits."

OF NATIONAL INTEREST

A NATIONAL memorial at Mount Rushmore, S. D., on whose face are to be carved the profiles of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt, was dedicated on Aug. 10. The site is some fifteen or twenty miles from Rapid City. President Coolidge, in an address, described the memorial as "another national shrine to which future generations will repair to declare their continuing allegiance to independence, to self-government, to freedom and to economic justice." On Aug. 17 Mr. Coolidge, as Leading Eagle of the Sioux Tribe of Indians, addressed some 10,000 members of the tribe at Pine Ridge Reservation, S. D. The following week he visited Yellowstone Park. The President finally returned to Washington on Sept. 11.

A "declaration of principles" issued by the directors of the Anti-Saloon League at Winona Lake, Ind., on Aug. 17, declared that "we assume that no political party which stands for the American form of constitutional government and for government by law will bid for the votes of the American people on any other basis than that of respect for and loyalty to the laws of the land, both constitutional and statutory. We shall take it to be the policy

of all parties, if and when placed in power, to stand for the enforcement of the prohibition laws as of other laws." "It goes without saying," however, the declaration concluded, "that the Anti-Saloon League of America will do all in its power to defeat at the polls any candidate of any party who is opposed to the broad American principles announced herein."

By a vote of 32,079 to 20,962 the City of Buffalo, N. Y., which has had commission government since 1916, adopted on Aug. 29 a new city charter providing for government by a Mayor and fifteen councilmen. Under the new charter the Mayor will enjoy, with the approval of the council, the power of appointing all heads of departments and will have an absolute right of removal.

The International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, in its annual report made public on Aug. 21, announced that "hook-worm disease has almost disappeared from the United States and is rapidly coming under control in many parts of the world." "The great achievement," the report declared, "is not the social and economic rehabilitation of the more than 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 people who have been



LINDBERGH THE MISSIONARY
—Seattle Post-Intelligencer

treated for the disease during the past ten or fifteen years; it is the development of administrative measures that will prevent millions yet unborn from ever suffering its ravages."

Mayor James J. Walker of New York City sailed for Europe on Aug. 11. He landed in England, where he was the guest of the Lord Mayor in London, and visited his father's birthplace in Castlecomer, Ireland. In Berlin he was decorated with the Order of the Red Cross in recognition of New York City's aid to the children of Germany. After visiting Munich and Baden-Baden, he went to Italy, where he had audiences with the Pope and Premier Mussolini.

Dr. Alexander C. Humphreys, President of Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J., and an engineer of international repute, died at Morristown, N. J., on Aug. 14, aged 77. Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation and one of the best known American industrial leaders, died at New York on Aug. 15, aged 81. The next day J. Ogden Armour, head of the Chicago packing house bearing his name, died at London, aged 63. Amelia Bingham, long

famous as an actress, died at New York on Sept. 1, aged 58. Sept. 5 saw the death of Marcus Loew, head of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Pictures Corporation and of the Loew chain of theatres, at Glen Cove, Long Island, aged 57, and of Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel of the Anti-Saloon League, at Battle Creek, Mich., aged 58.

Arthur C. Goebel, piloting the monoplane Woolaroc, won the non-stop transpacific race on Aug. 17, having been in the air 26 hours and 17 minutes, winning the prize of \$25,000 offered by James D. Dole; Martin Jensen, in the plane Aloha, arrived second, winning \$10,000. The two other planes participating in the race, the biplane Miss Doran, carrying John A. Pedlar, Lieutenant V. R. Knope and Miss Mildred Doran, and the Golden Eagle, with Jack Frost and Gordon Scott aboard, were lost in the Pacific. William P. Erwin and Alvin H. Eichwaldt, who followed in the Dallas Spirit in an attempt to rescue them, were also lost. Captain Arthur V. Rogers, Lieutenant George Covell and R. S. Waggener were killed in crashes while preparing for the race.

William S. Brock and Edward F. Schlee crossed the Atlantic on Aug. 29 in the monoplane Pride of Detroit on a flight around the world. From Croydon, England, they went successively to Munich; Belgrade; Constantinople; Bagdad; Bender Abbas, Persia; Karachi, India; Calcutta; Rangoon; and Hanoi. On Sept. 9, when this article went to press, they had reached Hongkong, having covered 10,385 miles in 114 hours actual flying time.

Paul R. Redfern started from Georgia on a non-stop flight to Rio de Janeiro on Aug. 25 and disappeared after being sighted 165 miles off Venezuela.

The monoplane Old Glory, carrying Lloyd Bertaud, James D. Hill and Philip Payne, took off on a transatlantic flight on Sept. 6 and disappeared after sending an S O S.

These, as the climax of a number of similar tragedies which occurred in a short period of time, resulted in a strong public protest, both in America and Europe, urging more control and legal prohibition both of such "stunt" flying as the Dole air race and of the use of land planes for sea flights. On Sept. 9, accordingly, the Navy Department canceled the leaves of Lieutenant Lawrence Curtin and Ensign Steve Edwards, who were planning a transatlantic flight.

President Calles's Message to the Mexican Congress

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE annual Presidential message to the Mexican Congress was read personally by President Calles at the opening of Congress on the night of Sept. 1. Particular attention was paid in the message to the relations between Mexico and the United States. These, President Calles stated, were marked by some disagreement over the petroleum and alien land laws which were passed by the Mexican Congress two years ago and became effective in January of this year. Referring to the petroleum law President Calles declared that thereto "there have not been presented to the Government of Mexico concrete actions that evidently constitute aggressions or rejections to foreign capital invested in the oil industry." Foreign capital, on the other hand, had, he stated, shown "activities the contumacy and disrespect of which no independent country can admit." Confidence was expressed "that the spirit of good-will and cordial understanding of our problems" would lead to the final settlement "of these matters of such transcendent importance."

With reference to the application of Mexico's agrarian laws—a subject of much misunderstanding between Mexico and the United States prior to the Joint Conference of 1923—President Calles said that "the situation becomes at times difficult through reasons that are very similar to those" relating to the oil industry. President Calles stated that his Government "has offered to consider with equity and justice any concrete cases brought before it, and hopes to solve them within these principles, maintaining at the same time one of the dearest social conquests that the Mexican nation has been able to attain." Mexico, he said, "accepts and even longs for the cooperation of all foreigners, but in harmony with the Mexicans, who are the indisputable owners of their country. She receives in good faith capital and foreign effort, but under the unimpeachable condition to respect and comply with the laws that Mexico has imposed upon herself."

With reference to Mexico's friendly relations with the recently overthrown Liberal Government of Nicaragua, President Calles said that Mexico "maintains * * * her principle to allow every country to establish freely the government demanded by the will of her people." He added that Mexico "accepts with brotherly spirit all actions tending to develop among the nations of Central and South America a peaceful and cooperative understanding, wherefrom may come forth the greatest collaboration that the people of this continent can accomplish with the other countries of the world."

As regards the religious question which has agitated Mexico for over a year, President Calles said that "the religious law has been enforced strictly, and it can be said that the religious conflict caused by the rebellious clergy now has practically concluded, for the laws have been complied with despite the futile resistance of the clergy. The Mexican people have shown themselves indifferent to the suspension of services. Some church edifices have been dedicated by the Government to public uses. Priests who have shown willingness to obey the laws have been permitted to exercise their ministry."

A convention which extends for a period not exceeding two years from Aug. 30, 1927, the term of the General Claims Convention of Sept. 8, 1923, between the United States and Mexico, was signed at Washington on Aug. 16 by Secretary of State Kellogg and Mexican Ambassador Téllez. This was made necessary as a result of the inability of the General Claims Commission, provided for by the convention, to complete consideration of all pending cases within the time limits previously fixed. Under the provisions extending the term of the convention, "the commission shall * * * be bound to hear, examine and decide all claims for loss or damage accruing between Sept. 8, 1923, and Aug. 30, 1927, inclusive, and filed with the commission not later than Aug. 30, 1927." In making public the provisions of the new convention, the Department of

State also made public the following summary of the past work of the General Claims Commission:

The General Claims Commission between the United States and Mexico closed its last session on July 23, 1927. Of the fifty-one American claims which were heard and decided by the commission during its existence, awards were made on thirty-six. The total amount was \$3,790,796.48. The total amount awarded on the thirty-six claims decided in favor of the United States was \$2,221,659.46. Certain of these claims draw interest. The commission heard and decided nine claims of Mexico against the United States and gave favorable decision in five of these claims. The total amount claimed by Mexico in the nine claims was \$440,910. The total amount awarded to Mexico on the five claims on which they secured favorable decisions was \$39,000.

Outrages against Americans in Mexico were frequent during August and were subjects of representations from the United States Government to that of Mexico. The United States Department of State was advised on Aug. 12 that on the preceding day Mexican bandits kidnapped Edward Pirie, an American rancher, near Vicente Guerrero. Edward H. Hall, American Consul at Durango, began an investigation of the matter at once. From Washington it was reported on Aug. 13 that because Joseph de Courcy—the *New York Times* correspondent who was expelled from Mexico a few days earlier—is alleged to have been arrested without any reason being given and to have been held incomunicado for some days, despite efforts of the American Embassy to learn his whereabouts, the Department of State had instructed the embassy in Mexico City to deliver a strongly worded protest to the Mexican Foreign Office. The Department of State, it is reported, does not question the right of the Mexican Government to expel foreigners, but regards as most unfortunate the alleged circumstances under which Mr. De Courcy was arrested and expelled.

A fatal wound was inflicted on Miss Florence Anderson, an American citizen, when a Southern Pacific train, upon which she was returning to Los Angeles, Cal., from Mexico City, where she had been attending the Summer session of the National University, was attacked by several hundred armed men near Acaponeta, State of Nayarit, on Aug. 23. The attackers fired forty shots and it was reported that fifteen persons were killed and wounded. Miss Anderson, who was the only American on the train who was wounded, entered a hospital at Mazatlán several hours after the attack on the train, but died the following

day. "Appropriate representations" for the capture and punishment of the attackers were made to the Mexican Foreign Office by the United States Embassy in Mexico City. The United States Vice Consul at Mazatlan reported on Aug. 30 that the State military chief was personally directing movements of 300 troops sent against the bandits in the vicinity of this outrage and that the band had been dispersed.

Red syndicates late in August took over the mines of the Amparo Company—an American concern operating near Etzatlán, forty miles west of Guadalajara—according to information reaching the Department of State from Consul Satterthwaite at Guadalajara. Refugees informed the Consul that eighteen Americans and eleven British subjects at Amparo were barricaded in their homes. The same day the United States Embassy in Mexico City requested the Mexican Government to furnish military protection. Uncertainty concerning the situation at Amparo for several days prompted the Department of State on Aug. 30 to urge again that adequate protection be afforded. The Mexican Foreign Office on Sept. 3 informed the Embassy that troops for the protection of American lives and property had reached the mines. Troops were also sent on Sept. 8 to guard the Amajac mines in Nayarit.

Permission to make a proposed goodwill airplane trip from Houston, Texas, to the City of Mexico was denied by Secretary of State Kellogg on Aug. 8. In a telegram to T. L. Evans, manager of the foreign trade department of the Houston Chamber of Commerce, Secretary Kellogg stated that the request to be allowed to make the flight was considered with every disposition to grant it, "as there is no desire to curtail the legitimate wishes of American citizens or to hamper any friendly contact between the peoples of this country and Mexico." He added, however, "that, having in mind the larger interest of the Government," it was not possible to grant the request.

Fines, totalling 220,000 pesos, were assessed by the Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor on Aug. 7 against four oil companies—the Mexican Gulf, the American International, the Transcontinental and the Aguada—on the charge of drilling wells without permits from the Department. The companies appealed to the courts, which granted temporary injunctions against the acts of the Department, and continued their drilling operations.

Cuba's first Ambassador to Mexico, Guillermo Fernández Mascardo, presented his credentials to President Calles on Aug. 3.

EVENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

NICARAGUA—Straggling rebel forces under General Sandino and the latter's principal lieutenant, General Salgado, refused to accept peace terms in August, but, on the other hand, gave little trouble to the United States Marine Corps and the Nicaraguan constabulary. In mid-August, as the result of a conference between President Diaz, Brig. Gen. Feland, in command of the marine expeditionary force in Nicaragua, and United States Minister Eberhardt, circulars signed by General Feland, which offered amnesty from the Nicaraguan Government to all followers of Sandino, were distributed by airplane in the Ocotal region, the scene of the bitter engagement with Sandino's forces in July. Nothing substantial resulted from this action and accordingly General Feland, General Moncada, the former Liberal generalissimo, and Minister Eberhardt arranged for General Moncada to be taken by airplane to Somoto to confer with Salgado and endeavor to induce him and his eighty followers to lay down their arms. At the time General Sandino's forces were reported to have been reduced to twenty-five men, who were engaged in committing slight depredations. As General Salgado made no motion to accept an offer of \$10 for each rifle and 5 cents for each cartridge, the same terms that were accepted by the Liberal forces under General Moncada when they surrendered their arms last May, an ultimatum, issued jointly in the name of the Nicaraguan authorities and the United States military forces, was sent to the General on Sept. 6 giving him five days in which to lay down

arms. Preceding this action, there had been skirmishes near the Honduran frontier on Sept. 2 and 3 between Nicaraguan troops and Salgado's men.

According to General Feland, who relinquished command of the marine forces in Nicaragua late in August, the only duty remaining for the marines in Nicaragua is to police the country and to train the native constabulary, which is gradually taking over the policing of the country. General Feland reported that the entire province of Chinandega, where the most severe fighting of the revolution occurred, is now entirely policed by Nicaraguans.

The appointments in the Nicaraguan constabulary of thirty-one officers of the United States Marine Corps were approved by President Diaz in mid-August. Late in August 300 marines were withdrawn from Nicaragua. There remained in Nicaragua 1,200 marines, of whom 200 are on the east coast.

Brig. Gen. Frank R. McCoy, who was appointed by President Coolidge as head of a commission to supervise the 1928 Nicaraguan elections, arrived in Nicaragua on Aug. 24.

EL SALVADOR—The arrival of Francisco A. Lima as Minister of El Salvador to the United States early in August marked the first time in seven years that El Salvador has been represented at Washington by an envoy of ministerial rank and also the first time in an even longer period that every Central American mission in Washington has been headed by a Minister.

SOUTH AMERICA

The Indian Uprising in Bolivia

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

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THE revolt of 80,000 Indians against the Government of Bolivia during the middle of August drew attention to that republic and its problems. Press reports in the United States and Europe exaggerated the situation, but the uprising was sufficiently serious to require the mobilizing of an entire division of the Bolivian

Army, which succeeded in quelling the disturbance. Government forces, well trained and armed with modern equipment, were more than a match for the revolutionists with their primitive arrows, clubs and slings.

Bolivia has a population of approximately 3,000,000, two-thirds of whom are Indians

of the Quechua or Aymará tribes. These natives are descendants of the inhabitants of the Inca Empire, which Pizarro conquered in the middle of the sixteenth century. Their mode of life and scale of living have changed little in the four hundred years since Spain took possession of the region. Living chiefly in sparsely settled rural districts, they are unacquainted with the rest of the world.

The dissident movement centred in the Departments of Potosi and Cochabamba and in the neighborhood of Sucre—the southwestern part of the republic. With the white people in the minority these sections were kept in terror for days because of the depredations of revolutionists. Precautions taken by the Government in the Department of La Paz, where there are some 200,000 Indians, prevented the spread of the uprising there. Lack of communication and transportation facilities in southern Bolivia have rendered press reports regarding clashes between Indians and Government forces, and especially the casualties, largely guess work.

Two causes have been assigned for this Indian movement: (1) Dissatisfaction with Bolivian Government control, and (2) radical propaganda from Europe. In commenting on the dissatisfaction of the Indian population with their Government, A. Hyatt Verrill, an authority on South American Indian life, who has spent years investigating their actual living conditions, has said: "Under the Spanish invaders and their descendants the lot of the Indians has been even worse than under Incan domination. Fed little, paid little or nothing for their labor, their lot was one of abuse, misery and contempt, while their traditions made them conserve proudly their traditions of hospitality, learning and industry."

The Bolivian Government placed the blame for the disturbance on the activity of radical agitators. Alleged proof of Communist activities in South America, directed and financed by the Third International of Moscow, was offered by the Bolivian Foreign Minister before the national Congress on Sept. 5 in the form of documents signed by Nikolai Bukharin and Zalkind, forwarded by the Bolivian Legation in Paris as coming from the secret archives of the Soviet Embassy there. Coincident with this charge against foreign agents came the announcement of the discovery and suppression of another uprising in Bolivia, also instigated by Communist leaders. The Foreign Minister's revelations were met by

Congress with a vote of confidence in the Government.

The documents were as follows:

1. Absolutely secret. Order to the members of the Latin-American section. Comrade Martinez:

By virtue of the decision of the Small Plenum (Praesidium) of the Communist International, you are herewith ordered to leave for Bolivia and put yourself at the head of all our organizations and agencies. Attached you will receive detailed instructions by the Communist International.

All official and secret organizations of the U. S. S. R. (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics) should lend to Comrade Martinez all the help and protection necessary for the success of the task intrusted to him. All Communist organizations in Bolivia are subordinate to the said Comrade Martinez.

(Signed) Bukharin, President of the Communist International.

Zalkind, Secretary General of the Communist International, Moscow, Feb. 13, 1927.

2. By diplomatic mail, absolutely secret, very urgent. The Secretariat of the Communist International, Moscow, Feb. 13, 1927. No. 767. To Comrade Daftian, Paris.

Inclosed are copy of the instructions and the mandate addressed to Comrade Martinez, who is traveling in Bolivia. The committee has appropriated the sum of 1,000,000 francs which you will hand to him when he embarks. Keep me posted on his departure.

(Signed) Zalkind, Secretary of the Communist International.

3. Very secret, Moscow, Feb. 13, 1927. To Comrade Martinez, member of the Latin American section.

On receipt of this communication by order of Comrade Bukharin and by the decision of the Small Plenum of the Communist International you should leave immediately for Bolivia and present yourself to our representative plenipotentiary in Paris and having been instructed by him and provided with the necessary funds you will embark immediately on the first steamship available for Antofagasta (Chile) and from there to La Paz.

On your arrival there you will begin the work of organization of Communism and place yourself and all your energies and efforts in the service of a Communist revolution.

To conceal your revolutionary work you will open a business house, which will be the general staff of the Government and serve as the medium of communication with our agents in the other countries of South America.

You will take all measures for security and precaution and keep us informed frequently on all details of your activities.

Devote your attention preferably to propaganda and organization of the Communist revolution, employing for this purpose all means.

The Secretary General, Zalkind.

Active measures were taken during the month by the authorities to curb agitators. In Tomoya, an alleged Communist, Luis Navarro, accused of inciting Indians to lawlessness, was jailed and measures were

also taken against a lawyer, Hilario Fernandez, charged with distributing Communist propaganda.

A report on ways and means of carrying out a comprehensive organization of Bolivian finances was presented to the Government during August by the Kemmerer Commission, which has been engaged in making the survey for three months past. Following are the major proposals made by Professor Kemmerer and his staff:

1. A central bank, the Banco de la Nacion, is to be formed from the present institution of the same name, to regulate the currency and centralize the country's banking activity.

2. A central office is to be established for the control of the Government revenues.

3. The organization and recording methods of the Treasury are to be reformed, in accord with modern budgetary and control systems.

4. A new banking law is to be passed through the Congress, which would establish limitations on the size, management and functions of the commercial banks of the country.

5. To put the budgetary condition on a better basis, new mining taxes are to be imposed. This will affect especially the tin mines, which constitute the most important enterprise in the republic.

6. A program for financing the national railway system of Bolivia is set forth.

OTHER EVENTS IN SOUTH AMERICA

ARGENTINA—Argentina has returned to a gold standard. In accordance with a Government decree of Aug. 26 the Cajo de Conversion (Conversion Office) was reopened and the Argentine paper peso is again convertible into gold at the rate of 100 centavos (1 peso) paper to 44 centavos gold. The Conversion Office has been closed for thirteen years past because of emergency conditions brought about by the World War. President de Alvear officially pointed out that the time was opportune for regulating the monetary system and returning the paper bank note to convertibility. This change in financial policy was made possible by the recent flow of gold to Buenos Aires. The increase in gold reserves was so substantial that the opening of the Conversion Office was deemed advisable to prevent inflation. The paper peso has risen from 41.36 cents at the close of 1926 to 42.76 cents, which compares favorably with a par of 42.45 cents. The importation of gold has been due to a favorable balance of trade during the current year. For the first half of 1927 exports from Argentina amounted to \$564,000,000 and imports to \$394,000,000, leaving a favorable balance of \$170,000,000. For the corresponding period last year exports exceeded imports by only \$19,000,000.

BRAZIL—President Washington Luis gave executive approval on Aug. 13 to an act passed by the Federal Congress designed to repress Communism by rendering strikes illegal. The President of the Municipal Council of Rio de Janeiro, Señor Mauricio Locardo, asked the Council to fly the city's flag at half-mast as a protest against the "decree of cassation of civil and proletarian liberties."

The budget for 1928 has been presented

to Congress. Estimated revenues amount to 1,901,065 paper contos (a conto is approximately \$120) and estimated expenditures at 1,937,510.

CHILE—Señor Don Miguel Cruchada formally notified the State Department at Washington on Aug. 25 of his resignation as Ambassador of Chile and presented the name of Carlos Davila, editor of *La Nacion*, as his successor.

It was stated at the Chilean Embassy in Washington that the resignation of Ambassador Cruchaga and the recall of Señor Don Benjamin Cohen as Secretary of the Embassy could be attributed to "personal differences with the government of General Ibañez." Back of the resignation and recall lie four months of friction over the Tacna-Arica problem. Señor Cruchaga has been a partisan of the policy of conciliation and cooperation with the American Government. President Ibañez has stood for the elimination of the United States from the arbitration and the settlement of the dispute by direct negotiation between Chile and Peru. A recent presidential decree in Chile ordered the "nationalization" of the Province of Tacna, through the imposition of stringent regulations on the Peruvian inhabitants of the section, under threat of expulsion.

PERU—The Chamber of Deputies passed a bill during the month legalizing an additional six-year term for the present chief executive, President Leguia. He was re-elected in 1924 for a second term, which expires in 1929. This bill would make it possible for him to hold office for a third consecutive term. No opposition to the bill was expected from the Senate.

De Valera's Entry Into Parliamentary Arena Forces Irish Election

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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A PARLIAMENTARY melodrama replete with thrills and climaxes was given the boards in Dublin on Aug. 12 when Eamon de Valera and his forty-four Fianna Fail Deputies unexpectedly entered the Dail Eireann. The Republican leader and his followers had previously sworn the constitutionally required oath of allegiance to King George V, but they took their seats in the Irish Parliament with the ultimate purpose of terminating that allegiance and destroying the constitutional connection between the Irish Free State and Great Britain. Out of the dramatic episodes which rapidly followed this sudden change in Republican tactics one highly significant fact emerged. Eamon de Valera, the Republican and fanatical opponent of the Free State and the British connection, had transferred his activities from the hustings and the barricade to the legislative halls of the Government which he sought to destroy. In thus turning the force of his powerful party of opposition into constitutional channels he made the national Legislature the political centre of the nation in a sense that it never had become while he and his followers refused to accept membership in it. The adoption of constitutional methods for modifying, perhaps ultimately destroying, the Free State Constitution by all but a handful of its Republican opponents undoubtedly marked a turning point in Irish history.

Whatever may be the ultimate effect of de Valera's entrance into the parliamentary field, the Republicans were out-generaled and signally defeated by the Government of President Cosgrave in their first legislative battles. Their first objective was the overthrow of the Government, which lacked a majority of its own and was sustained in office by a coalition of uncertain strength and doubtful permanence. On Aug. 16, however, a motion of no-confidence, which was supported by the Fianna Fail, Labor, and National League Parties, was defeated only by the casting vote of the Speaker of the Dail. The Cosgrave Ministry, thus retaining office,

secured the adjournment of the Dail to Oct. 11.

The struggle then turned from the Dail itself to two Dublin constituencies, in which on Aug. 24 bye-elections were to be held to fill seats in that body left vacant by the death of the Countess Markievicz and the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins. After a campaign which held the attention of all Ireland the Government candidates won sweeping victories in both districts. It was especially significant that the vote polled by the candidates of the Sinn Fein Party, which has been led by Mary Mc-Swinney since de Valera established the Fianna Fail, was negligible.

The most dramatic episode in the new struggle, however, was not the Government victory at the polls but the instantly announced decision of President Cosgrave to dissolve the Dail and call a new election for Sept. 15. This stroke took Ireland entirely by surprise. In explaining his action Mr. Cosgrave declared: "The Executive Council has advised the Governor General that it is expedient that the Dail Eireann be dissolved. The entrance of members of Fianna Fail to the Dail and their alliance with Labor and Independents have created an entirely different situation for the Government than that envisaged by the general electorate after the last election. It is evident that the Government cannot carry on its program, as there is no margin of safety against the parties in opposition. On the other hand, it is obvious that the coalition Government's foes afford no basis for a stable, progressive administration, since they are united only in a desire to defeat Ireland's present leaders. In this situation the only recourse is to place entire responsibility for the Government before the Irish people."

The dissolution was bitterly criticized by de Valera and Tom Johnson, the Labor leader, who had been expected to succeed Mr. Cosgrave as President of the Executive Council upon the Government's fall. All the opposition parties were faced with

a strenuous campaign at a moment when they were practically without funds, while it was expected that the Cosgrave Ministry would have ample financial backing from the conservative interests of the country. The latter were reported to be afraid that the defeat of the present Government would mean a long period of political uncertainty, perhaps even a recurrence of civil war. Irish political discussion also indicated that the minor parties, the National League of Captain William Redmond, the Farmer Party and Sinn Fein, might suffer heavily in the elections because of a general realization that political stability cannot be found in a Legislature composed of many weak groups. It should be noted that the Fianna Fail candidates were able to stand without previously agreeing to take the oath and qualify for membership if elected to the Dail, the Royal signature to the bill recently passed to require such agreement having been withheld pending a referendum. A week before the election about 275 candidates, 100 fewer than participated in the June election, had entered the field, and the Free State was in the midst of one of the most strenuous political campaigns of its history. On Sept. 3 James J. Walsh resigned his post as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and also refused



DE VALERA SIGNS

—The Star, London

to stand as Government nominee in the election, giving his disapproval of President Cosgrave's free trade policy as a reason. Mr. Cosgrave himself was then nominated for Walsh's seat for Cork City.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GREAT BRITAIN—The most significant event of the month in Great Britain occurred in the economic, not in the political realm. On Sept. 1 the steel manufacturers of the United Kingdom unanimously offered British consumers of their products substantial rebates provided that each firm receiving this reduction in price purchase all its requirements in the home market. This combination, which is a striking departure from the individualism which characterizes British industry, was a move to meet the competition of the Continental steel industry, which has been cutting into the British market to a very dangerous degree. The extent of this foreign invasion is indicated by the rise of the imports of cold steel and iron from £14,000,000 in 1923 to £29,000,000 in 1926, and an estimated total of £50,000,000 in 1927 unless the movement is checked. The rebates, which amount to 7s 6d a ton on joints and 5s a ton on plates, sections and flats, still leave British prices higher than those asked by the Continental producers. It was expected, however, that quicker delivery and superior products would induce home buyers to use the do-

mestic product. The steel manufacturers also urged the purchase of British in preference to foreign steel on the ground that only an increase in home consumption would make it possible to relieve the severe unemployment in the industry. They further declared that the lower prices asked by their foreign competitors were accounted for by the longer working hours and lower wages of Continental labor; foreign government subsidization of the steel industry, low foreign railway rates and depreciated currencies.

The British Trades Union congress held its annual meeting at Edinburgh during the first week of September. Its most notable achievement was its decision to break off relations with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. It also demanded either repeal of the Government's Trade Union bill or a general election.

CANADA—Following the report of the investigating commission provided for by the last session of the Canadian Parliament, the Dominion Government announced its decision to abandon Port Nelson in favor

of Fort Churchill as the ocean terminus of the uncompleted Hudson Bay Railway. It was estimated that the change would cost at least \$11,000,000, about half of which has already been spent at Port Nelson and half of which will be required to build the ninety miles of additional railway which will be required to reach the new terminus. The experts' report indicated, however, that much more than this sum would be saved by the fact that Fort Churchill offers a ready-made harbor, while Port Nelson would require an enormous amount of expensive initial dredging and subsequent maintenance work. It was expected that the decision to alter the terminal of the proposed railway would renew the struggle between Eastern and Western Canada over the desirability of the entire project.

AUSTRALIA—Announcement was made in August that an investigation into methods of surveying for oils and minerals within the Empire would be jointly financed by the Australian Government and the Empire Marketing Board. West Australian and Canadian fields will receive special attention, and it was estimated that about two years would be required to complete the survey.

It was announced on Aug. 22 that the Federal Government had decided to allocate an additional £200,000 to the development of civil aviation, bringing the appropriation for this purpose up to £315,000.

NEW ZEALAND—The session of the New Zealand Parliament, which opened on June 23, has developed into one of the busiest in recent years. The Government possesses a substantial majority, but is finding it difficult to maintain satisfactory discipline in face of the diverse problems which have appeared for solution. Among these questions is that of the tariff. It is expected that the Government's policy will probably be determined by the report of the special tariff commission now taking evidence on the operation of the existing schedules.

For many years past the public schools of New Zealand have been strictly secular, religious exercises of any sort being prohibited. Within recent years, however, a strong demand for daily Bible reading and hymn singing has arisen in many Protestant communities. During the last session a bill providing for such exercises failed of passage, but the proponents of the measure have prepared again to seek its enactment. The proposal is opposed by the

Roman Catholics, the organized primary school teachers, and many Protestants who feel that the public schools should be not only free but entirely secular.

The question of licensing reform is a perennial one in New Zealand politics. The prohibition forces are seeking to induce the present Parliament to substitute complete prohibition for the present system of licensed houses. The alternative of Government-controlled sale of spirituous beverages is also supported by a considerable number of members.

EAST AFRICA—The third East Africa unofficial conference for the discussion of the political future of the several British East African colonies opened at Nairobi on Aug. 8. Delegates from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia were present, while Southern Rhodesia was represented unofficially by the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of that colony. Reports of the proceedings indicated that all the delegates looked forward to the ultimate formation of an East African Dominion under a federal government and of equal status with the other Dominions of the British Empire. It seemed apparent, however, that the conference felt for the present that the three Northern colonies had better try to work out some form of federation, while Northern and Southern Rhodesia and possibly Nyassaland effected a closer union between themselves.

INDIA—The Autumn session of the Central Legislature opened at Simla on Aug. 18. The opening meetings found the unofficial parties in a state of more than usual confusion, while important changes of personnel had altered the aspect of the Government benches of the Legislative Assembly. The leadership of that chamber has passed from Sir Alexander Muddiman, formerly the Home Member, to the Finance Member, Sir Basil Blackett, whose expert handling of finance and money matters has won the respect and admiration of all sections of the house. The demand of the cotton manufacturing industry for greater protection, the Reserve Bank bill, the report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee and the increasing strife between the Hindu and Moslem communities promised to be among the important subjects of debate during the session. In an address to the Legislative Assembly on Aug. 29, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, stated that between 250 and 300 people had been killed and more than 2,500 injured in communal riots.

Pressing Problems of Internal Politics In France

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

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THE Summer season in France, in spite of the Parliamentary recess, has been uncommonly full of significant events and engrossing controversies. The passing last July of the new electoral law has practically ushered in the campaign for the elections of 1928. The boisterous and restless Communist minority continues to furnish the Government with worries and the Conservative press with material for alarming consideration on the Red peril. Likewise, Franco-German relations are a perennial topic for the expression of alternating fears and hopes, according to the preconceptions or temperament of the commentators. Thus, even with the Deputies scattered in their constituencies, the Ministers resting in their Summer homes or taking the cure in watering resorts, there has been practically no dead season for those whose profession it is to comment on the course of events, view with alarm or read in the stars the portents of the future.

The most pressing problem of internal politics deals with the attitude of the parties in the coming general elections, and this bids fair to be for the next eight or nine months the *leitmotif* of all editorials. The question comes down to this: Will the present coalition supporting the Poincaré Cabinet, a coalition that has made possible the restoration of confidence and the rehabilitation of the franc, maintain itself before the electoral body, or will it dissolve itself into its component parts and return to the formations of the 1924 elections? In other words, will the bulk of the Radical-Socialist Party abandon, in the electoral battle, the more progressive elements of the old National block, with which it has voted in Parliament since July, 1926, or will it make a combine with the Socialist Party to share with it the fortunes of war under the banner of a new Cartel of the Left?

That problem of tactics will have to be debated at the annual convention of the Radical-Socialist Party, which meets in October. Meanwhile it was submitted to an elaborate discussion in letters exchanged by

M. Maurice Sarraut, head of the Executive Committee of the Radical and Radical-Socialist Party, and M. Franklin-Bouillon, Radical Deputy of Seine et Oise. This controversy was started by a letter appearing in the *Paris Journal* of July 22 addressed to M. Sarraut and signed by M. Franklin-Bouillon. In the *Dépêche de Toulouse*, of which he is editor and owner, M. Sarraut replied on Aug. 10. Thereupon M. Franklin-Bouillon returned to the attack with two more letters of Aug. 19 and 20, printed in the *Journal*. The whole press entered into the controversy and the question was threshed out at great length.

The personality of the two correspondents and the timeliness of the subject explain the interest given to it. M. Maurice Sarraut, brother of the present Minister of the Interior in the Poincaré Cabinet, is Senator of Aude and editor of one of the most influential dailies of Southwestern France. He occupies, at the head of the Radical-Socialist Party, the position once occupied by M. Herriot. M. Franklin-Bouillon, while never having held any ministerial function, is a dynamic personality, full of fire and impulsiveness, with a touch of that chauvinistic patriotism which is not uncommon in French radicals. What urged him to write his letter is the fear that the return to the alliance with the Socialists might compromise the financial stability achieved by the policy of union and play into the hands of the communist wing of the Socialist Party. The old slogan of the Radical Party, "No enemies on the Left," can no longer work when there is on the Left a party which is not merely internationalist but anti-national. The progressive wing of the National bloc, known as the Democratic Alliance, seems to M. Franklin-Bouillon a much better ally for the Radicals than the Socialists. For the latter, on the one hand, refuse to participate in the responsibilities of government, refuse the vote of the budget, and, on the other, accept, as M. Léon Blum has avowed, electoral combines with the party of Moscow. Moreover, M. Franklin-Bouillon does

not wish to enter into a permanent compact. But he believes that during the next five years, at least, the issues that will come up can be better solved by the present method of union. It will be time enough, when the immediate danger arising from the attitude of a "treacherous" communistic party and an "unregenerate" Germany will have disappeared.

The long reply of M. Sarraut refuses to adhere to this new "unionism" that is advocated. He has neither the distrust of the Socialist tactics that characterize Franklin-Bouillon nor the confidence in the republican orthodoxy of the Democratic Alliance. He even accuses these Republicans of representing a spirit of social conservatism and of advocating financial, economic and religious conceptions which are the negation of the whole Radical doctrine. In other words, while maintaining the Radical platform on the first ballot, the spokesman of the party seems inclined, in the next electoral battle, to join hands on the second ballot with the Socialists rather than with the conservative Republicans. This would naturally bring us back to the political formation of 1924, which resulted in the victory of the Left Cartel. But circumstances may alter conditions, and these theoretical discussions are interesting only as symptoms of the underlying currents that persist below the present truce of parties.

Meanwhile, the Communist agitation which culminated in the violent outbreaks on the announcement of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, on Aug. 23, continued to disturb the Government. While it is certain that the Communists practice a methodical and consistent campaign of disorder and sabotage, which manifests itself in acts of rebellion in military camps and actual spying into State secrets for the benefit of the Soviets, as was revealed by a trial and condemnation of half a dozen workers and clerks in Government shops, the Sacco-Vanzetti protest was far from being exclusively a Communist movement. Two newspapers of the Left, *Le Quotidien* and *L'Oeuvre*, which are of the party of Herriot and Painlevé, were the main organizers of the addresses signed by intellectuals, lawyers and even former Presidents of the Republic, like M. Loubet, asking for justice, or at least clemency. While it may be a sign of French naïveté to think that an executive of an American State should be moved by the appeals of great poets and thinkers whose very names are probably unknown to him, the fact remains that the protest was not originally a Communistic

affair. But, with their flair for social and political opportunities, they seized upon the genuine grief and horror created by the Boston execution to stage a regular dress rehearsal of a full-sized riot which came near being very dangerous.

Franco-German relations are, at best, in a state of ebb and flow. For one manifestation of good-will and one gesture of reconciliation there are always two or three outbursts of the spirit of distrust that seem to offset the good results achieved. This time, however, it is possible to chronicle positive progress made on the road to peace and understanding. On Aug. 17, a few days after an aggressive address delivered by Herr von Kardorff, a Deputy of the Populist Party, at the celebration of the anniversary of the Constitution before the Reichstag—an address greeted by bitter comments in the French press—there was signed in Paris a Franco-German commercial agreement which bids fair to be a sort of "economic Locarno" between two nations destined henceforth to be peaceful rivals in the marts of trade.

The completion of that compact, however, had been no easy matter. It took just about three years to come to an understanding. The first conversations were started in London in August, 1924. They were interrupted by what seemed, at times, insuperable obstacles and fatal deadlocks. Even at the very end it looked as if some of the German claims were going to wreck the negotiations. But the need for an understanding was imperative, and, furthermore, M. Bokanowsky, French Minister of Commerce, was on the point of departure to the United States to attend the Bar Association meeting. So the last night was spent, at the Ministry of Commerce, in a desperate attempt at conciliation. Between cups of coffee to revive their lagging spirits, and telephone calls to Berlin for instructions, the commissioners worked feverishly. At 1:30 A. M. an agreement was reached which had to be wired to Germany. The reply came on time for the commissioners to meet again at 8:30 in the morning for the signature. Herr Posse signed for the Germans, M. Bokanowsky for the French. Later the signatures of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and of the German Ambassador completed the proceedings.

The importance of this commercial undertaking cannot be overstated. While it is limited in its present form to a period which may expire on Dec. 15, 1928, and is dependent on its ratification by Parliament,

it puts an end to the provisional régime that obtained since January, 1925, when defeated Germany had been liberated from the commercial shackles of the Versailles Treaty, and France and Germany lived under a precarious economic armistice which impeded the flow of merchandise between the two countries, to the damage of both.

For France and Germany have a very definite need of each other. Their industries, instead of being competitive, are mostly complementary. France exports to Germany her agricultural products, especially her wine, her silk, cotton and woolen goods, steel products, shoes, soaps, perfumery and "articles of Paris" in general. On the other hand, the German chemical, electrical, leather industries and machinery will benefit from the régime of the "most favored nation," which is the main feature of the new arrangement.

The Germans, however, got something more than economic concessions. They succeeded, by dint of skill and obstinacy, in obtaining the practical nullification of Article 143 of the Versailles Treaty, which excluded German interests from Morocco, where, before the war, they had been a serious cause of trouble. It is on this point that the last battle was fought and finally won, to the extent of granting to Germans the right of selling their goods and landing their ships in Morocco on the same footing as other nationalities. The French Government, however, reserves the right to restrict German settlements in accordance with what it may consider the legitimate protection of French interests.

According to the rules of the game, neither the French nor the German press is enthusiastic over this agreement, and each one emphasizes more what its country surrendered than what it got. But there is no doubt that both sides realize the value of this new step in the policy of mutual understandings. They feel that by removing some surfaces of friction the two countries have cleared up, by so much, the political atmosphere of Europe. In that sense the expression of "economic Locarno" describes adequately the commercial pact of Aug. 17.

Publication of the new French tariff on Sept. 8 resulted in what was termed "a rush" of American business men to the American Embassy to protest against the rates which they claimed "would cause many American companies to suspend operations." In every instance the maximum rate of 200 per cent. was applied on Ameri-

can goods, and in the case of some electrical equipment 800 per cent. The fact that negotiations had been begun on Sept. 2 for a treaty of amity and commerce between France and America was believed to have an important bearing on the case, as French business men have complained of American tariff rates and taxes. On Sept. 9 American officials in Paris, acting on instructions from Washington, protested to the French Government, asking immediate modification.

EVENTS IN BELGIUM

THE legislative assemblies of Belgium adjourned until November, leaving unsettled two vexing political problems which might have wrecked the coalition Cabinet of M. Jaspar. One is the question of general amnesty for the men sentenced for dealings with the enemy during the war. The Catholic "*flamingants*" (Flemish sympathizers) have taken up this cause, which interests especially some of their own constituents. The other burning issue is that of the reduction of the military service to six months (it is now of ten, twelve and even thirteen months). This is urged by the Socialists; but even M. Vandervelde had to explain to them that such a reform is dependent on technical adjustments which only the military authorities can make. There are indications that they intend to make them.

In Belgium, as in France, it seems impossible to lay the old war ghosts that are continuously being conjured up either by the return of anniversaries like that of the execution of the 674 civilians at Dinan on Aug. 23, 1914, or by the discussion of some of the cruel German war measures—a discussion initiated by the Germans themselves. Hardly had the question of the deportation of Belgian workmen been threshed out by a Reichstag commission of inquiry, which found various excuses and justifications for it, when the German Government asked Belgium to appoint members for a bipartite commission which was to investigate and settle impartially the question of the so-called "*franc-tireurs*." The Belgian Cabinet, however, unanimously rejected the proposal on Sept. 2, M. Vandervelde remarking that "there is no use to go all over the matter again."

These persistent attempts of the Germans to try to wipe out the accusations of barbarous war procedure, under which they have been smarting for the last ten years, are significant and a bit pathetic.

German Industrial Activity Increasing

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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FIGURES now available indicate that Germany is making gigantic strides industrially. Unemployment decreased from 1,718,000 on July 1, 1926, to 493,000 on the same date this year. During the same period daily average car loadings increased from 130,000 to 150,000, steel production from 976,000 to 1,328,000 metric tons a month, iron production from 720,000 to 1,067,000 tons a month, rolling mill production from 853,000 to 1,062,000 tons, income tax yield from 124,100,000 marks to 167,500,000 marks, and savings deposits from 2,154,300,000 to 3,718,800,000 marks.

On the other hand, Dr. Duisberg, President of the National Association of German Industry, in a speech at the annual convention on Sept. 2, termed these signs of prosperity "mirages," offset by rising national and industrial debts.

The one distinctly unfavorable feature for the first half of the current year was the continued adverse trade balance. During July exports of iron and steel, of machinery, toys, miscellaneous chemicals and most other finished goods, showed considerable increase, but these were more than offset by heavy importations of grain, traceable largely to the failure of the 1926 crop, and by the penetration of cheap British coal into Germany. Moreover Germany, like every other industrial nation, is experiencing difficulty in finding adequate foreign markets for its surplus manufactures. It is largely this factor which accounts for Germany's effort to negotiate commercial treaties with other countries. At the time this article was written a treaty with France had been signed and negotiations with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were progressing satisfactorily. The treaty with Greece was expected to be concluded by early Winter, negotiations with Lithuania were fairly under way and discussions were to be begun shortly with Hungary and Rumania.

A treaty with Japan was signed on July 20. Though this marked the end of three years of negotiations, it provided, as the following summary shows, no special concession to German goods beyond most-favored-nation treatment: (1) Mutual freedom of residence, travel, commercial and industrial intercourse; (2) Most-favored-nation clause

treatments mutually assured; (3) Equal treatment to vessels and exclusion of the coastal trade from the most-favored-nation clause treatment; (4) Mutual exemption from transit duties and excise; (5) Treaty texts to be prepared in Japanese, German and French, the last-named language to be made the standard for interpretation of the article; (6) The term of the treaty is three years, and can be extended by six months; (7) The exchange of ratification will be effected in Tokio.

Besides the treaty a memorandum was exchanged regarding the import by Japan of German dyestuffs. The dyestuff agreement provides: (a) Germany will import sixty-five kinds of dyestuffs enumerated in a table; (b) In the event of Japan coming to produce dyestuffs not included in the table they will be added to the items listed; (c) The import of dyestuffs will be through Kobe and Yokohama only. This dyestuff agreement is to come into effect simultaneously with the enforcement of the German-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation.

Negotiations with Poland were being repeatedly deadlocked and the tariff war between the two countries continued. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Reichstag has created a special sub-committee of its industrial committee to study the possibilities of tariff reduction in the case of approximately 300 different groups of commodities, chiefly industrial products. Whether or not this action was taken as a means of rehabilitating Germany's export trade or was merely the result of the desire to conform with the recommendations of the World Economic Conference held at Geneva last May, or possibly both, the fact remains that Germany is the first world power to take the first step in leveling tariff walls.

Successful operation of the newly organized International Raw Steel Association, which includes Germany, France, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Sarre Basin, is indicated in reports of iron and steel production just received here from the United Steel Works Corporation of Germany, the largest unit in the European industry. In the first quarter of 1927 the members of



AUSTRO-GERMAN UNION

Germany to Russia: "Shake the tree two or three times more and he (Austria) will fall into my arms."

—Le Rire, Paris.

the Association produced 7,912,356 tons of raw steel. Under the agreement regulating output and markets Germany's quota of this production is the largest, amounting to 43 per cent. Of this the United Steel Works Corporation contributes 39 per cent., representing nearly 17 per cent. of the entire output of the association.

The current record of German iron and steel output continued the steady approach of the industry toward the high level of 1913, when it represented almost a quarter of the world's production. To make good the loss of its plants in Lorraine and Luxemburg, as a result of the war, the industry has rebuilt and enlarged its plants on the Ruhr and the Rhine, so that today they have as large a capacity as they had before with Lorraine included.

On Aug. 7 the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and the German Dye Trust signed an agreement for the mutual use of processes under patent.

Only the Communists reminded the people of Berlin that Aug. 4 was the thirteenth anniversary of the declaration of the World War. Twenty-five thousand Reds assembled before the former Kaiser's palace or Lustgarten, at the head of Unter den Linden, as

a protest against war and a sign that they are willing to war against war. Cartoons of prominent personages in the League of Nations and floats in the shape of tanks with caricatures of members of the disarmament conference played a prominent part in the demonstration. Dozens of banners protested against the Sacco-Vanzetti decision, which had just been received.

EVENTS IN AUSTRIA

THE Vienna riots are still being discussed in all parts of Austria. In a recent statement to the labor press of Europe Dr. Otto Bauer, an outstanding leader of the Austrian Socialist Party, maintained that the workers more than held their own in the contest. After giving a history of the development of the labor movement in the Austrian Republic and the sharp class antagonisms there, Dr. Bauer went on to say:

If the Austrian working class had replied to the bloodshed of July 15 by revolution, by an open struggle for mastery of the State, this revolution would have taken the following course: In Vienna, perhaps, the at-



THE UNFORTUNATE EXPERIMENT IN VIENNA

Once again the venerable old steeple was spared the Moscow decoration.

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

tempt would have succeeded, though only after very hard fighting and at the cost of very heavy casualties and terrible destruction, in compelling the Government to capitulate and in setting up a dictatorship of the workers. But the rule of this workers' dictatorship would have extended only to Vienna and the neighboring districts of Lower Austria. In the provinces, where hardly anybody but the railroad men along the railway lines and the workers in a few industrial centres would have backed up the movement, unquestionably the workers would have been suppressed. The provinces would have separated themselves from Vienna and would have set up a rival Government.

Open warfare between Vienna and the provinces would have been inevitable. This certainly would have led to an economic blockade against Vienna and almost as certainly to foreign intervention—invasion of the Burgenland by Hungary and of Tyrol and Carinthia by Italy. The Viennese workers would have fought heroically, but it is as sure as fate that they would have been beaten. All the potentialities for the future which are contained in the formidable power of the Austrian Socialist Party and of the Austrian unions would have been scattered to the winds at one stroke. Such are the

fundamental facts, such is the determining distribution of power, which must be known in order to grasp the course of events in Vienna.

It is yet too early to say with any certainty just what the immediate political results of the riots will be. During the month under review there was considerable talk of an Austro-Russian split because of the expulsion of two Russian commercial representatives by the Austrian authorities. The two representatives arrived in Vienna a few days before the riots, supposedly for the purpose of placing orders with Austrian business concerns. Police officials allege that they at once got in touch with Austrian Communists and helped instigate the riots. Whether this assertion is true or not, it is difficult to say. At any rate, both men were arrested and expelled with 240 other Communists. The Vienna bourgeois press is making the most of the incident, calling on the Government to expel permanently all Communists and Soviet representatives in the country.

ITALY

Fascist Italy Adjusting National Problems

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE rigor of the Fascist régime in suppressing adverse criticism and in dealing with its opponents continued unabated during the past month. The trial of Signor Filippo Turati, the Socialist leader, was scheduled to take place before the Court at Savona on Aug. 19. His offense was in leaving Italy on Dec. 11 of last year without a passport. With him were indicted for trial eleven of his friends, who were charged with aiding and abetting in various ways his efforts to escape. The penalty for leaving the country without a passport—and it is practically impossible for non-Fascists to obtain them—is imprisonment up to six years and a fine without limit. In order, if possible, to save his friends, Signor Turati wrote from Paris a memorandum to be presented to the Court in which he takes upon himself the sole responsibility for his action. He made an application for a passport, he asserts, on the ground of ill health and with the desire to get away from Fascist molestation, only to find himself

virtually a prisoner. In spite of the surveillance to which he was subjected, he succeeded in escaping to Corsica and then to Paris. Fearing that his memorandum might be disregarded, as Italian Judges who put themselves in opposition to the Government risk dismissal from office, Signor Turati also sent copies of his memorandum to "free newspapers of free countries" in order to make known its contents.

In connection with freedom of the press, it was reported that the editors and publishers of several of the largest of the suppressed newspapers in Italy had filed with the Secretariat of the League of Nations for submission to the International Press Conference a protest against the censorship to which they were being subjected. Such censorship, it was contended, was a barrier to international understanding, besides being harmful to Italy herself.

A further menace to international amity was seen in the provisions of the new Italian Code, which were said to make amenable to

the Italian law—at least, theoretically—foreigners and Italians who have been naturalized as citizens of foreign Powers as well as Italians who commit certain offenses in territory outside of Italy. Not only ordinary crimes, but political offenses are included, and the punishments range from confiscation of property and imprisonment for one year to life imprisonment and even death.

Other provisions of the new code are directed against propaganda in favor of birth control practices. The problem of excess population may be a pressing one, but, according to Mussolini, it is not to be met by methods of restriction. In this attitude the Government is warmly supported by the Vatican.

Meanwhile Italy is pursuing her struggle with the problem of deflation. The Government has continued to take severe measures against landlords who have tried to evade the rent-fixing decrees and has warned in no uncertain terms recalcitrant shopkeepers who persist in profiteering activities that they are liable to receive the same severe penalties as the landlords. There is great difficulty, however, in persuading retail dealers to lower their prices.

That there should be many difficulties in the process of adjusting trade and industry to the new value of the lira is inevitable. Reports as to how far they are being overcome vary greatly. The revaluation of the lira has not, as was predicted, produced a spectacular catastrophe in foreign trade; the excess of imports over exports has lessened somewhat and there is more stability of the lira. But there are also reports that business is in a state of stagnation; that unemployment is twice as high as it was in this month last year and greater than it has been at any time since 1924; that high prices and starvation wages are general throughout the country, that there is deep-seated unrest and that the unrest is increasing. Supporters of the Government, on the other hand, declare that these reports are exaggerated. The evil results of deflation are but temporary, they assert. There should be put on the other side of the scale the permanent and constructive work which is under way, both in material reconstruction and economic reorganization.

That the Fascista Party might present a united front to its opponents, the Secretary General intervened in a quarrel which had been raging in the press for some months, between the intransigent and

the more moderate wings, represented respectively by the newspapers *Impero* and the *Tevere*, expelled from the party one of the four editors involved for "grave and repeated lack of discipline" and reprimanded the other three.

More sensational if less important than general economic trends and party differences was the report on Aug. 13 that a gathering of several thousand Fascist students had renamed Mont Blanc and rechristened it Mount Benito Mussolini. This somewhat startling announcement naturally provoked a furor on the French and Swiss side of the Alps. It developed, however, that it was only the highest peak on the Italian side of the frontier that was renamed. Passions accordingly quieted down. Of more significance in the eyes of the Swiss, at least, is the fact that Mussolini had chosen the Alpine passes as the place for the extensive military manoeuvres of the season. On account of these manoeuvres the Italian authorities gave notice that for the time being all the passes between the Great St. Bernard and the Simplon, with one or two exceptions, would be closed to tourists. While this step may have been justified for military reasons, it was felt by the Swiss authorities that the discourtesy and in some instances arbitrary arrest with which uninformed tourists had been met at the frontier were by no means justified. It was partly because of the tension caused by this situation that the rumor of the renaming of Mont Blanc produced such an outburst of indignation.

At the other extreme of its frontier, in Cyrenaica on the Egyptian border, Italy has been engaged in real military operations in putting down an Arab rebellion. This rebellion, according to Italian officials, was fostered by the smuggling across the border from Egypt of supplies of arms and food. They pointedly intimated that the situation was aggravated by the failure of the Egyptian Government to ratify the agreement over Jarabub, which was ceded to Italy in December, 1925. Further, recalling the recent exchange of courtesies between the two countries, they suggested that a common accord would alleviate the difficulty.

The Vatican Library, whose already great treasures have recently been increased by several large editions, is preparing for a reorganization. According to the *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, the Carnegie Foundation has agreed to collaborate in this work.

Greece Undergoes Another Change of Ministry

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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THE Greek Republic suffers the same disadvantages of a multi-party system that complicate the problem of government in other Continental European States. Rarely does any one party acquire sufficient strength to gain a parliamentary majority singlehandedly; Ministries, as a rule, must be made up on the plan of a coalition; Cabinet solidarity is therefore almost impossible to attain, and Cabinet crises follow in quick succession. As in France and other countries the situation is in part saved by the frequent reappearance in new Ministries of men who have had important places in earlier ones. The stops and starts are less abrupt than at first appears; continuity of policy is not so completely lacking as might be supposed.

These various aspects of the Greek political situation found fresh illustration in a series of events in August, when two briefly separated crises resulted in the fall of the Coalition Government of M. Zaimis, constituted on Dec. 5, 1923, followed by the creation of a new, or, at all events, reconstructed, Cabinet—again a coalition—with M. Zaimis still in the Premier's office.

The first tense situation arose at the end of July, and turned on the Cabinet's attitude toward the actions of M. Kaphandaris, the Minister of Finance, at Geneva and elsewhere in regard to economic questions. A *communiqué* issued on July 22 seemed to indicate unanimous Cabinet approval of the actions in question. From articles appearing in the press of the Popular Party, however, it became apparent that the Minister of the Interior, M. Tsaldaris, the leader of the party, had made reservations in regard to certain matters on which he had incomplete information. A request of M. Tsaldaris for the necessary documents for his perusal was not met promptly; and when the Minister—together with two others belonging to his party—failed to appear at a Cabinet meeting called to clear up the matter, it was supposed that the Popular Party had withdrawn from the coalition, and hence that a new Ministry would result.

For the time being the crisis was weathered. M. Zaimis saw to it that the documents desired by M. Tsaldaris were placed

in his hands; the *communiqué* of July 22 was canceled; and the question of approving the acts of M. Kaphandaris was brought up afresh for consideration, without prejudice. The rift, however, was closed only momentarily. Two weeks later the renewed discussions brought earlier differences of opinion into sharp relief and led directly to the Cabinet's resignation.

In its final stages the crisis flowed from the question of the gold cover for the notes issued by the National Bank of Greece. The Minister of Finance proposed that this should be transferred to the contemplated new bank of issue, while the National Bank should be indemnified by the payment of the equivalent in paper currency. M. Tsaldaris flatly rejected this plan. He maintained that the gold cover was inseparable from the privilege of issue and should be transferred to the bank of issue without any corresponding credit to the National Bank, and if it was considered that the National Bank would be weakened by the transfer of its reserves the idea of the formation of a separate bank of issue should be abandoned and the issue department of the National Bank should be reorganized. He considered that M. Kaphandaris's proposal would entail an unjustifiable gain to the shareholders of the National Bank if it were decided that the gold cover was actually the property of that bank and repayable in the case of its transfer to the new bank of issue. M. Kaphandaris denied that there was any intention to enrich the National Bank, and insisted that the proposed committee of experts would decide how to transfer the gold cover to the bank of issue without prejudice or benefit to the National Bank.

After many hours of fruitless discussion M. Tsaldaris and his two colleagues of the Popular Party announced that they could not abandon their point of view and that their party had decided to withdraw from the coalition. Thereupon the Premier officially announced that a Cabinet crisis existed, and telegraphed to President Konduriotis, who was at Hydra, inviting him to return to Athens in order to receive the resignation of the Cabinet.

The President reached Athens on the

evening of the 12th and, upon receiving the Ministers' resignation, consulted with M. Sophoulis, the President of the Chamber, and the leaders of all the parties in the late coalition. M. Sophoulis recommended the formation of a Government by the Republican parties which had a majority in the Chamber, suggesting that M. Kaphandaris, the late Minister of Finance, as leader of the Liberal Union, the largest individual party (with 108 seats out of 286), be invited to form a Cabinet. M. Kaphandaris, General Metaxas (Party of Free Opinion, with fifty-four seats), M. Michalakopoulos (Liberal Union) and M. Papanastassion (Republican Union, with eighteen seats) agreed in principle to the formation of a strong Government on the lines of a broad coalition. M. Tsaldaris (Royalist Popular Party, with sixty-three seats) agreed to the formation of a strong Government from those parties which in the late coalition had agreed to M. Kaphandaris's economic program—that program being construed to include (1) legislative stabilization of the ratio of exchange, and (2) the founding of a bank of issue to which a proportion of the assets of the National Bank of Greece should be transferred, together with the product of the loan to be floated under the auspices of the League to Stabilize the Currency.

Although M. Kaphandaris, as leader of the largest party in the Chamber, bore the brunt of the task of forming the new Cabinet, he recommended that M. Zaimis, the outgoing Premier, be invited to return to his former office, and on the 15th the latter, with this in view, began fresh consultations with the party leaders. The necessity of finding an agreed policy in order to insure reasonable stability of the new

Government, together with the strong ideas of the leaders upon the number of portfolios that should be assigned to their respective followings, made the task difficult; and the only alternative to its successful accomplishment seemed to be the formation of a Liberal Union Cabinet under M. Kaphandaris, to be followed by a dissolution of the Parliament elected only last November. M. Zaimis is, however, a persuasive man, and in two days he had his new Ministry ready for the Presidential approval, which in due course was given. During the evening of Aug. 17 the new Ministry was sworn in, as follows:

M. ZAİMIS.....	Prime Minister and Interior
M. MICHALAKOPOULOS.....	Foreign Affairs
General METAXAS.....	Communications
M. KAPHANDARIS.....	Finance
M. PAPANASTASSION.....	Agriculture
General MAZARAKIS.....	War
M. MERLOPOULOS.....	Marine
M. NICOLOUDIS.....	Education
M. VALENTZAS.....	National Economy
M. TOURKOVASSILIS.....	Justice
M. KYRKOS.....	Public Assistance

The new Ministry—which thus represented a combination of the parties favorable to the Government's financial program—with the Popular Party left out—was given a vote of confidence by the Chamber on Aug. 23.

A conspiracy to overthrow the new Government and reinstate General Theodorios Pangalos, the former dictator, was discovered on Aug. 18, and forty non-commissioned officers of the garrison at Athens were placed under arrest. General Pangalos remains in custody on the island of Crete.

On Aug. 26 the Greek Parliament unanimously rejected the Greco-Yugoslav arbitration convention signed on Aug. 17, 1926, during the Pangalos régime.

OTHER EVENTS IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

HUNGARY—A concerted movement by the police to purge Hungary of "dangerous propagandists" resulted in reports from Budapest during the month of the arrest of more than 250 Communist agitators. Fourteen, according to the police, confessed that they were receiving funds from Moscow to provide printing presses to carry on a revolutionary campaign among Hungarian mill workers.

Lord Rothermere, chief proprietor of the London *Daily Mail*, on June 21 published in his paper an appeal that 2,000,000 Hungarians "now dominated by neighboring States be reunited with their own coun-

try." He blamed the Trianon Treaty for creating unnatural economic frontiers in Central Europe, "the injustice of which is a standing menace to peace," and suggested a revision of the treaty and the holding of plebiscites by the United States or some other disinterested nation to solve the problem of the Hungarian minorities. The appeal was reprinted in the Budapest Journal *Az Est* during July and immediately created great enthusiasm and excitement in Hungary. The Little Entente States, however, particularly Czechoslovakia, which would be most affected, did not care for the suggestion. Dr. Eduard Benès,

Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, when interpellated in the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs with regard to the subject, stated that Lord Rothermere was both incompletely and incorrectly informed regarding Central European affairs, and offered to give him the facts of the situation.

RUMANIA—It was reported on Sept. 7 that Prince Carol had begun a court action, contesting the will of the late King

Ferdinand, to regain what he considered his fair share of the estate.

On Sept. 5 an agreement was signed between the Rumanian Government and the Astra Romana Oil Company, controlled by the Royal Dutch interests, whereby the oil company received a lease on large tracts of land for exploitation. The Government is to hold 12,000 shares in the company, and in return will subsidize the company's mineral developments for four years.

RUSSIA

New Aspects of the Russian Oil Controversy

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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SIR HENRI DETERDING took issue with the statement of Saul G. Bron, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Amtorg Trading Corporation (a Soviet organization established in New York City), that the Soviet Government was not depriving the Russian people of kerosene in order to sell oil to the Standard Oil Company of New York and the Vacuum Oil Company. Deterding declared:

Statistics regarding Russian oil production show the following figures, which are yearly averages for the periods mentioned, in tons:

1911-1912-1913.			
	Kerosene.	Liquid Fuel.	
Production	1,650,000	3,390,000	
Exported	389,000	57,000	
Available for interior consumption	1,261,000	3,333,000	
1924-1925-1926.			
	Kerosene.	Liquid Fuel.	
Production	1,123,000	2,966,000	
Exported	361,000	458,000	
Available for interior consumption	762,000	2,508,000	
	Products.	Total.	
Production	1,378,000	6,418,000	
Exported	289,000	735,000	
Available for interior consumption	1,089,000	5,683,000	
	Other Products.	Total.	
Production	1,137,000	5,226,000	
Exported	479,000	1,298,000	
Available for interior consumption	658,000	3,928,000	

From the above it will be seen that if Russia were like other countries, the present position would be that at least 500,000 tons of kerosene and 800,000 tons of liquid fuel per annum would have to be imported, or

what is more natural, all exports of kerosene and liquid fuel should cease, and moreover the import of 140,000 tons of kerosene and 367,000 tons of liquid fuel per annum would be necessary.

If we take into consideration the practical total absence of stocks, and assuming these stocks to have to be the same as before the war (six months' consumption in view of providing for closing of navigation), the final figures for oil to be imported would be at least 800,000 tons of kerosene and 2,000,000 tons of liquid fuel. What effect this would have on the whole world position is left to any oil man to work out, but it is certain if Russia were righted no oil man need worry about surplus production.

I think these figures show conclusively that the Soviets, in order to export as much petroleum as possible, do so by starving their own population.

Moreover, it was rather amusing to see that Saul Bron is contradicted by his own compatriots, because I read in the *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* (*Economic Life*) of July 8 last, which is one of the official papers issued by the Soviet Government, that an acute shortage of kerosene was observed on the Moscow market during the last weeks. The position was considered to be so serious that the authorities deemed it necessary to appoint a special commission to investigate the position and its causes.

Bron's reply to these charges was constructed with so much care that it deserves to be given at length:

Sir Henri Deterding, in a new statement, attempts to present some statistical data to prove his previous declaration that Soviet oil export "is maintained at the expense of curtailing the requirements of the population of Russia." The figures of Sir Henri Deterding are not only faulty in themselves, but are compiled in such a manner as to present a decidedly perverted picture of the oil situation in the Soviet Union. Sir Henri Deterding's statistical method consists of comparing the yearly average for three pre-

war years, when production was stable, with the average for the years 1923-1924-1925 and 1925-1926, during which oil production in the Soviet Union grew by leaps and bounds. This method obviously gives a wrong picture of the position of the oil industry during last of these years. As a matter of fact, the quantity of kerosene and lamp oil made available for internal consumption in 1925-1926 was 1,421,499 metric tons, a large increase, and not a decline, as compared with Deterding's pre-war figures.

Production and exports for 1911, 1912 and 1913 were as follows (in thousands of tons):

	Kerosene and Lamp Oil.	Liquid Fuel.	Other Prod- ucts.	Total.
1911.				
Production	1,558	5,028	1,543	8,129
Exports	449	85	290	825
Available for internal consumption	1,109	4,942	1,252	7,304
1912.				
Production	1,586	4,180	1,686	7,452
Exports	396	56	386	839
Available for internal consumption	1,189	4,123	1,300	6,613
1913.				
Production	1,562	4,126	1,822	7,510
Exports	440	116	390	947
Available for internal consumption	1,122	4,009	1,431	6,562

The above official statistics are different from those presented by Deterding. Not only are Deterding's figures inaccurate, but, what is much more important, they do not take into account the decrease in the territory and population of Russia since the war. The pre-war figures refer to the territory of the former Russian Empire. However, the present Soviet Union population is nearly 20 per cent. smaller than the population of the Russian Empire in 1913.

The share of Russian kerosene production consumed before the war by the now seceded territories was probably even larger than 20 per cent., since those territories were of an industrial and urban character. In order to make possible a fair comparison with the present situation in the Soviet Union the pre-war figures should therefore be reduced by at least 20 per cent. The resultant figure, showing the average quantity of kerosene and lamp oil available for home use in 1911, 1912 and 1913, is less than 900,000 metric tons.

Production, exports and the quantity of oil products made available for internal consumption for the years 1924-1925 and 1925-1926 are given by the Chief Statistical Administration of the Soviet Union as follows (in thousands of tons):

	Kerosene and Lamp Oil.	Liquid Fuel.	Other Prod- ucts.	Total.
1924-1925.				
Production	1,427	3,068	2,496	6,993
Exports	452	399	519	1,371
Available for internal consumption	975	2,669	1,977	5,622
1925-1926.				
Production	1,860	3,754	2,628	8,244
Exports	439	358	675	1,473
Available for internal consumption	1,421	3,396	1,952	6,770

The above table shows the quantity of kerosene and lamp oil made available for internal consumption during 1924-1925 and 1925-1926 as 975,112 and 1,421,499 metric tons respectively. Both figures exceed the pre-war average, the latter as much as 60 per cent.

It must be stated that while during 1924-1925 and 1925-1926 total oil production in the Soviet Union was still below the pre-war level, during the present year oil output is running higher than before the war. Therefore Sir Henri Deterding's concern for the Russian consumer of oil at the present time will be even less appreciated than before.

The statement that the Soviet Union would need to import oil from abroad in order to maintain its pre-war level of oil consumption, when made in the face of production greater than ever before, of lesser requirements on account of a decrease in population, and, incidentally, in the face of a gain of about 150 per cent. in the production of electric current, is obviously misleading.

Sir Henri Deterding takes great pleasure in mentioning an official Moscow newspaper in support of his claim regarding a shortage of kerosene in the Soviet Union. The item of the *Economic Life* is shown, upon analysis, to refer principally to the shortage of salt brought about by certain difficulties in the distribution system. Regarding kerosene it states that "kerosene is not being sold on the Moscow bazaars on account of the fire hazard. However, in local stores it is being sold without any increase in price."

No special committee to investigate the causes of the shortage was created. What actually took place was that the Moscow Trade Department was urged to make an investigation of the quantity of kerosene on hand and of the compliance with standard prices in village stores.

It is perfectly obvious from the above that Deterding's so-called "shortage of kerosene" refers to certain local and temporary breaks in the distribution of kerosene in village stores around Moscow and not to any permanent shortage of kerosene caused by excessive exports, as Sir Henri Deterding is at pains to show.

In conclusion, it is only proper to state that, whatever Mr. Deterding may say, the Soviet Union is in a position by virtue of its tremendous oil resources and large investments in the industry, to continue increasing both the exports and the internal consumption of oil products.

In the meantime, the nature of Sir Henri's grievance against the Standard Oil Company of New York and the Vacuum Oil Company had become clearer. A dispatch from Berlin brought information, which was said to have emanated from Soviet sources, concerning their contracts with the Soviet Naphtha Syndicate. There were four contracts negotiated in New York. The first extended the Vacuum Oil Company's monopoly of the sale of Russian oil in Egypt until 1930 with an option of three years. The second obligated the Vacuum Oil Company to acquire 100,000 tons of "raw naphtha yearly f. o. b. Baku." This oil was intended

for the Mediterranean countries; but the Vacuum Oil Company was not given a monopoly of the sales there on account of the Syndicate's existing contracts with France, Italy, Greece and Turkey. The third contract was made with the Standard Oil Company of New York. It obligated that company to purchase 100,000 tons of bunker oil yearly for five years, for its stations in Europe and on the route to the East Indies, especially those at Constantinople, Port Said, Colombo and Singapore. The fourth contract, also with the Standard Oil Company of New York, was an agreement for six years by which the Syndicate was to supply the company's tank boats with bunker oil. The significance of this contract is said to lie in the fact that it gives the company greater use of its tank fleet for the removal of competition with Russian oil, while at the same time the Soviet Naphtha Syndicate will have new markets opened to it, especially India. According to the dispatch from Berlin, there were a number of special agreements also between the American companies and the Soviet Naphtha Syndicate; among them was one for the construction and management of a refinery at Batum with the capacity of 150,000 tons yearly. In return for the use of the plant for six years, the Standard Oil Company of New York was said to have loaned the Syndicate \$10,000,000 for improvements in the petroleum district between Batum and Grosny. If the information contained in this dispatch from Berlin is true, Sir Henri Deterding's declaration of July 11 becomes

more comprehensible (see *CURRENT HISTORY* for September, p. 981). He told his representative in New York to inform the Standard Oil officials that he would never make room for Russian oil. "They should realize," he asserted, "I must insist in India and elsewhere upon American oil taking preference over stolen oil." It seems a fair conjecture that he was more worried over the prospect of competition with the Royal Dutch-Shell interests in India than over the Soviet's alleged curtailment of the consumption of oil products in the Soviet Union.

OTHER EVENTS IN RUSSIA

NEGOTIATIONS were completed during August for a commercial treaty between Persia and the Soviet Union. A general agreement as to tariffs was also in process of negotiation. The understanding was also given to foreign correspondents in Moscow that there was a special appendix to the commercial treaty giving both parties the right to cross the border in pursuit of bandits.

It was reported that the Soviet Government had permitted the Metropolitan of Nizhni Novgorod to convoke a Church Council to elect a permanent Holy Synod and a new Patriarch.

The harvest in Russia is expected to be fully as good as last year. Observers in Moscow saw much encouragement for the Soviet authorities in the prospect of a good harvest for the third consecutive year.

OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE

Spain Delays Convoking National Assembly

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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WHATEVER may be the outcome of the Assembly which the Government of Spain has offered to convoke, the procedure of the call and the psychology of the delays each have an interest of their own. The Assembly may have come into being before this article was printed, but at the close of August there was another long period of hesitation, discussion and conjecture. It was reported that the decree of convocation was ready for the King's signature but was being held back for further

consideration. The delay was said to be due to an eleventh-hour doubt on the part of the Government as to whether the changes in the Constitution of 1876, concerning which the Assembly is expected to give advice, could be legally accepted without a previous re-establishment of that Constitution, or whether, on the other hand, the reforms arrived at by the Government and the Assembly working together might not be submitted directly to the nation by referendum.

These constitutional scruples did not seem

to fit exactly with the theory followed by the Dictatorship hitherto. The Premier's own statements showed that the delegates to the Assembly would be appointed by the Government from the organizations of the Patriotic Union and would have only advisory powers. It was evident that the Premier was unwilling to trust to an elected *Cortes* until he could get the full measure of the power of the old politicians. The old parties were said to present an united front for an election under the Constitution, but the Dictator saw in this only a return to the former corruption, the old bosses and their henchmen. For these he had some very plain words:

We know that 99 per cent. of Spaniards, who are free from fallacies and political passion and who are not spurred by the desire to get back to the booty formerly distributed among the loafers, fast-livers, bullies, blackmailers and birds of such feather, daily pray God that we shall continue to govern in spite of mistakes, unfortunately not lacking, and despite the wearisomeness for a trivial and heedless world of so much administration and exemplariness and so little gossip.

As long as the Government is carried on by royal decree there is no need to conciliate the old political parties, but as soon as any relaxation of the autocratic system begins, as would be the case with a National Assembly in session, it will be necessary to reckon with them and their influence in the country. The main dependence must be upon the Patriotic Union, which has gained few recruits from the old leaders. Among these few is Don Ramiro de Masztu, who, when exiled in London used to write for the opposition organ *El Sol*, but now contributes to *La Nacion*, the mouthpiece of the Government. In a recent article he declared that the moment had come for patriotic Spaniards to rally around an Administration that had earned support because it had given the country a régime of law and order.

Opposition, however, has not been without a voice. As previously reported in these pages the censorship was relaxed from time to time during the last few months and criticism of the Government permitted.

Among those who availed themselves of the opportunity was Don Francisco Bergamin, former Finance Minister and adviser to the King in 1922. He wrote:

It would be regrettable if the duration of the Assembly should be fixed for three years, especially if its labors were put into force by the Executive, for this would be a disguised form of legislating without the *Cortes* and would give a permanent character to the dictatorship which all agree was to be only transitory. I can be a monarchist only in a constitutional monarchy.

Count Romanones asserted that the origin of the powers conferred on the new Assembly is a capital point. It must be representative of the people to make its acts legitimate in a constitutional monarchy.

Thus, within the limits of censorship a few of the intellectuals expressed their views of an assembly which was promised, deferred and again deferred, while the country awaited with some curiosity any information as to its character and the names of its members.

The negotiations between France and Spain respecting Tangier, which began in February, came to an end by August without result, as all of the proposals made by Spain for a change in the international status of that territory were rejected by France.

Of the three parties which fixed the international status of Tangier in 1923 England was absent, but had given to France a mandate to reject any proposal which should place the territory under the Administration of a single Power.

* As a part of the general plan of reducing army expenditures the Spanish Government has decided to combine the five existing military academies into one great school, corresponding to West Point, which will be located at Saragossa. Here the future officers will have three years of general training before they are sent elsewhere to specialize for the service which they have chosen. An appropriation of 7,270,000 pesetas has been made for the construction and equipment of the academy.

OTHER EVENTS OF THE MONTH

PORTUGAL—Conspirators against the Government in Portugal seem never to lose hope, new leaders springing up at once to fill the places of the defeated. Formerly recurring once a quarter, revolutions are approaching a monthly cycle, but for some time have not succeeded in dislodging the existing Administration. The August revolution

of the current year intended to place Naval Commander Filomeno da Camera in the Presidential chair, but it obtained for him only a passage to the Island of St. Thomas as an exile, and calm prevailed again in Portugal.

The Federal troops, which had been concentrated outside of Lisbon in preparation

for a possible *coup d'état*, were returned to their respective barracks on Aug. 15, and the Government announced that it had received assurances of loyalty from all of the garrisons of the country, a support without which President Carmona has said he could not continue in power a day longer. The Cabinet in a night-long session drew up a decree for taking all necessary measures against the insurgents.

Details of the affair were delayed somewhat by the censorship, but it appears that on Aug. 11 two official decrees were published, the first creating a new office of Vice President of the Council and the other nominating Lieut. Colonel Passos e Sousa, Minister of War, to the new post.

Early the next morning two army officers entered the Presidential palace and attempted to force Minister Passos e Sousa to appoint certain ministers acceptable to a section of the army. They were threatened with arrest and one of them, Lieutenant Moraes Sarmento, fired a number of shots which narrowly missed several persons and slightly wounded one. General Carmona, the President, seized the attacker, but he succeeded in making his escape.

Later in the day an attempt was made

by several officers to have a decree published announcing the resignation of the present Government and nominating as Dictator Commandante Camara. This resulted only in his arrest and expulsion. For taking part in this attempt Dr. Fidelino de Figueiredo, Director of the National Library, was dismissed from his office. The reconstruction of the Cabinet was postponed.

SWEDEN—At the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva Foreign Minister Eliel Lofgren delivered an attack on the Council of the League for its failure to intervene in the differences which broke out among the Powers during last year. The criticism was interpreted as an allusion to the fact that the Council did not take up the controversy between Italy and Yugoslavia. Mr. Lofgren said that the Locarno accord and the entry of Germany into the League had inspired the world-wide hope that the League had increased its strength and prestige; the League's recent attitude, however, has caused disappointment, impatience and a growing conviction that the great Powers were settling political problems outside the League.

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

The Turkish Elections

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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THE introduction of Western European constitutional forms and political practices into other parts of the world has led to many curious modifications. The new States which have grown up within the area occupied by the Ottoman Empire have each set up a Parliament of one or two houses. But, of course, as has been illustrated abundantly in South America and elsewhere, institutions which have been slowly forged into shape during centuries cannot be transplanted without serious modifications to lands which have had a very different historical development. As a result, some of the systems introduced in the countries of the Near East have been bizarre and more or less contradictory to the spirit of the models imitated.

Turkey's experience with parliamentary

government began in 1876. A Constitution prepared by Midhat Pasha, as a leader of the Young Turks, and modified by the young Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, served as the basis for the election of a Parliament. The wily sovereign was able soon, under color of wartime necessity, to prorogue this Legislature indefinitely. Turkey had to await the revolution of 1908 in order to be permitted to elect another Parliament. The Constitution of 1876 was thereupon amended and made to suffice until after the close of the great war. Elections were pretty generally manipulated by intelligent groups acting upon an electorate which was largely politically untrained and profoundly ignorant.

Circumstances after the Great War led to the setting up of a new Government at An-

gora. This acted at first theoretically under the existing Constitution. Subsequently, with the successes against the Allied Powers and the Greeks in 1922, new political paths were entered upon. The Grand National Assembly at Angora declared itself the sovereign authority in Turkey, combining all the powers and functions of government. A new Constitution was worked out gradually and adopted in final form in 1925, which set up a powerful President and Cabinet, elected, nevertheless, by the Assembly from among its membership and strictly responsible to it.

Events have since been shaping themselves so that the Government of Turkey, while preserving the constitutional plan and the form of election, is becoming a new kind of despotism. This word is, of course, derived from the Greek word for master and suggests absolute control by one man. Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, aided by Prime Minister Ismet Pasha and a capable group, has gathered to himself more and more of the power of the Turkish State. An able and successful General, who led his countrymen from the depths of defeat and despair to victory and independence, the Ghazi has shown himself in time of peace a statesman and ruler of a very high order. By various processes known to rulers, including a ruthless but sparingly exercised and carefully directed resort to the execution of political opponents, he has eliminated opposition in the press, the pulpit, the professor's chair, and finally in every branch of politics.

The elections just completed in Turkey appear to have effected a complete reconciliation between a form of popular voting, wherein all males over 18 years of age have been required to participate, and a

thoroughgoing concentration of the power of choice in the person of the President. This was accomplished by the simple device of permitting Mustapha Kemal to name all candidates for the office of Deputy.

In the elections which were held on Sept. 2 about half of the recently disbanded Assembly were not re-elected. The new Assembly consists mainly of younger men, including a large proportion of trained experts in economic, financial, agricultural and professional directions.

Relations became strained during August between the Turkish and Persian Governments, starting with accusations in the Persian press that Turkey was encouraging the incursion of brigands across the northern part of the common frontier with the aim of detaching territory from Persia. The counter-accusation was brought that the Persians were inciting Kurdish bands to raid into Turkish territory.

An agreement was arrived at by Turkish and foreign delegates for the settlement of that part of the Turkish pre-war debt which was left to be paid by Turkey. The gold value of the original amount was something over \$300,000,000. The Turks insisted, however, that since most of the debts were contracted in francs and since the franc is now worth about 20 per cent. of its original value, the debts should be scaled down in the same proportion. The Turkish contention was partially successful. The Government is expected to pay the first annuity before June 1, 1928, of 1,980,000 Turkish pounds in gold (\$8,712,000), and the annual payment will be raised gradually until after 1950, when it will be 3,400,000 Turkish pounds (\$14,960,000). Customs revenues of Constantinople and certain other ports are to be set aside as guarantees of payment.

OTHER EVENTS IN THE NEAR EAST

EGYPT—The great majority of Egyptians were sorely stricken on Aug. 23 by the death of the great leader, Saad Pasha Zaghul. An account of his life and achievements appear elsewhere in this issue.

SYRIA—Disappointment with the announcement of M. Ponsot, French High Commissioner, that France proposes to continue for Syria the policy of divided rule was mitigated by further statements that France does not expect to turn Syria over to Italy and proposes to reduce the number of French troops and train the people to defend themselves.

Compilations of figures show a steady increase from 1920 to 1926 in the total amount of goods imported from France into Syria. For instance, in 1921 France sent goods to the value of 117,000,000 francs, whereas the figure for 1926 was 252,000,000 francs, a rise for France from the third place to the first place, notably displacing England. Exports from Syria have been much less in quantity, but in these also France rose from third to the first place, buying to the value of 80,000,000 francs in 1926.

PERSIA—Dr. A. C. Millsbaugh, American Administrator General of Finances,

left Teheran on Aug. 3, having refused a new contract with the Persian Government which would have reduced his powers.

The Parliament passed a bill in the middle of July which is expected to have far-reaching influence upon Persian political life. It provides as follows: "No Government official can be elected as a member of the Mejlis for the district in which he officates. Also no member of the Mejlis can be elected a member of the Cabinet until three months after leaving the Mejlis."

ARABIA—The pilgrimage of 1927 to the holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina was carried through with greater numbers than at any time since 1914 and with a more

satisfactory care of the visitors than has been exercised perhaps in centuries. King Ibn Saud maintained complete security from Bedouin attack along the roads between the two cities and Jeddah. Three telephone stations provided communication from points on the Jeddah road and many travelers took advantage of the motor-car service and traveled in two hours and a half a distance which formerly required as many days.

The Regent of the Hedjaz, Ibn Saud's son, the Emir Faisal, has issued a decree appointing a committee of investigation and reform, which is to hear all complaints and suggestions, study the administrative situation and reform what needs to be reformed.

The Late Zaghlul Pasha's Struggle For Egyptian Freedom

By IBRAHIM A. KHAIRALLAH

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THE death of Saad Zaghlul Pasha opens up a new chapter in the annals of Modern Egypt. By his death the Independence Movement has lost its outstanding leader and one might add, its sole mainstay. So irreparable, indeed, is his loss, that some of those who have watched the progress of the movement doubt if it can survive the shock.

Zaghlul Pasha was born about 1850 at Ibiyan, Gharbia Province. His father was a notable of that rural district, hence the statement that Zaghlul was the son of the land, a man of the people, a *fellah*, which last designation he often used most effectively in his speeches, thus identifying himself with the *fellaheen* and landowners, by far the largest majority of the people.

He was educated at Al-Azher Mosque, the largest Moslem University in the world, and for some time afterward practiced law before the native courts. Later he entered the Government service, where his ability, honesty and enlightenment, coupled with the connections he made through his happy marriage with the daughter of one of Egypt's most Anglophile Prime Ministers, brought him to the notice of Lord Cromer, who took an active interest in his promising career and paved the way for his elevation to the Cabinet

as Minister of Education. From this point he was transferred to the Ministry of Justice, where he felt his need of French and of the French law, after which the Codes of the International Courts of Justice in Egypt are patterned. Though past middle age, he mastered French and acquired a good knowledge of the French law, which enabled him to deal successfully and intelligently with the delicate problems of justice in Egypt.

During the early part of his career and down to 1913 when he was forced to resign from the Cabinet, Zaghlul was not anti-British. There might have been clashes between him and his British advisers, but he never opposed, at least openly, the British policy. Under Sir Eldon Gorst and Lord Kitchener he cooperated loyally with his colleagues. His resignation from the Ministry in 1913 was not due to any misunderstanding with the British Agent, but rather to a disagreement with the Khedive Abbas on some matter connected with the administration of the Wakfs, the religious and charitable endowments. It is common knowledge in Cairo that the Khedive was so exasperated that he went so far as to hint that it would have to be either himself or Zaghlul. Under the circumstances, the British Agent had to let his favorite man

go and thus put an end to the crisis. This move hurt Saad's pride to the quick and he never forgot the slight.

Once out of the Ministry, Zaghlul made overtures to the Nationalists, but they received his advances coldly, questioning the sincerity of his conversion and openly calling him "*Sanee'at*," the creature of Cromer, from whom Egyptian Nationalism had little to gain. It took him some time to convince them, but when he finally did so, they received him with open arms, secured his election from two constituencies in Cairo to the Legislative Assembly and much against the express wishes of the Government made him the first elected Vice President of that body. That was the most they could do for him, considering that by the by-laws of the Assembly the President was appointed by the Government.

The great changes in the status of Egypt effected by the declaration of the British Protectorate, the deposition of the Khedive and the accession of Hussein to the throne of the newly constituted Sultanate of Egypt were deeply resented by the Nationalists. Their hostility, though kept under the surface, was none the less bitter. However, there was no open uprising against the British. On the contrary, whether actuated by fear due to the presence of large military forces in the country, or whether relying upon the vague diplomatic promises of the British, the Egyptians remained quiet and furnished the British Expeditionary Force in Palestine with a large contingent of laborers, estimated at over 300,000; condoned the requisition of food stuffs, beasts and cotton at prices far below the market price and endured many vexatious acts of the British Military Authorities.

But what of Zaghlul during this period? Much as he must have chafed under the restrictions imposed by the Military Authorities, it is much to his credit that he refrained from any overt or hidden act to embarrass the British. He waited and patiently planned the coup which later took them by surprise and from the effects of which they have not yet recovered. The British were lulled into false confidence by the apparent quiet of the country, deceived no doubt by the reports of incompetent men in charge, who were little fitted either to understand the subtle workings of the Egyptian mind or to cope with the developments that changed from day to day with kaleidoscopic rapidity and too proud to accept the timely advice given to them

by well-wishers who were more in touch with local affairs.

The signing of the Armistice gave Zaghlul his long-awaited opportunity. The new menace to the independence of Egypt was more imminent, more far-reaching in its consequences than that of the Anglo-French Agreement of 1914, which gave rise to the First Nationalist Movement under Mustafa Kamel Pasha. Whereas in 1904 Mustafa Kamel protested against the temporary occupation, Zaghlul in 1918 dreaded the confirmation of the Protectorate. The Peace Conference was about to be convened in Paris and he was fully alive to the fact that England would seek to legalize its position and establish itself securely in Egypt and the Sudan. He felt certain that the Allies would be more likely to accommodate England than Egypt.

In that hour of crisis he came forward openly and demanded Independence. Together with two other members of the Legislative Assembly, Aly Pasha Charaoui and Abdel Aziz Fahmy Bey, he called at the British Residency, politely reminded the High Commissioner of the promises made by his predecessors to the Regent Hussein Pasha Rushdi in 1914 and urged the claims of Egypt. He likewise asked for permission to go to London to plead his case before the British Cabinet. But all to no effect. The refusal of Downing Street exasperated the Nationalists, who were determined to win recognition of Egypt's services to the cause of freedom.

Wilson's doctrine of self-determination, coupled with the wide publicity given by the Nationalist organs to the Anglo-French declaration of 1918 concerning the liberation of subject peoples from the Turkish yoke, found quick response in the hearts of the Egyptians. If England's promises meant anything that was the moment to press for their fulfillment. Realizing that all amicable means to bring their case before the British Cabinet were futile, the Nationalists rose in open revolt, tore up railway lines, destroyed several telegraph and telephone lines and committed many acts of violence.

On March 7, 1919, Zaghlul was deported to Malta with three other Nationalist leaders. These were Ismail Sidky Pasha, an ex-Minister, who was made to resign from the Cabinet by Sultan Hussein; Mohamed Mahmud Pasha, a graduate of an English University and former Governor of Behera Province, and once a protégé of the British, and Hamad El-Bassel Pasha, a Bedouin

chief of the Fayyoun district. This gave rise to various riots and strikes. The tramway employes went on strike first and were soon followed by the coachmen of Cairo, the employes of the Egyptian State Railways, the members of the native bar and the Government officials. The strikes were accompanied by serious riots and acts of violence which brought Field Marshal Allenby to Egypt. His firm attitude quieted the turbulent elements for a time and drove the Nationalists to cover.

On his release from Malta, Saad went to Paris. His efforts there to gain admission to the Peace Conference were spent in vain. From Paris he proceeded to London to confer with the Milner Commission, but his adamant stand with regard to the British Protectorate wrecked the possibility of reaching a compromise. It is reported on good authority that in his interviews with Lord Milner he was often brusque and on several occasions, when the suave Milner skilfully parried a question, he bluntly declared: "*Moi, je veux!*" ("I wish it!")

On his return to Egypt in 1921, he was accorded a royal welcome. Delegations from the remotest corners of the country flocked to Cairo to pay him homage and swear allegiance to him. The vibrant speeches he made soon afterward (and it must be conceded that he was one of the most eloquent speakers of recent times), were followed by fresh outbreaks and an intense campaign against the British and the Egyptian Cabinet—one of the several makeshift Ministries called together to tide over certain difficulties of the day and then to give way to others still more heterogeneous in composition and with no well-defined program. So intense was the propaganda, especially in Upper Egypt, that the Military Authorities ordered Zaghlul and other leading Nationalist leaders to stop all agitation and retire to their private estates. Their refusal to comply with the order led to their deportation, this time to the Seychelles. (These islands, belonging to Great Britain, are situated in the Indian Ocean, 900 miles northwest of Mauritius.) Influential Coptic Nationalists shared with Zaghlul the hardships of exile and this fact, more than any other, cemented the union of the two elements of the Egyptian people—the Moslem majority and the Christian minority.

In the Seychelles, Zaghlul, then 73 years old, started to learn English and in a short time acquired sufficient knowledge to follow the general trend of a conversation

carried on in that language. From the Seychelles he was transferred to Gibraltar on account of his health and then released unconditionally.

The year 1924 witnessed several important changes—the assumption of the title of King by Sultan Fuad, the drafting of a Constitution, general elections, which resulted in a sweeping victory for the Wafd and Zaghlul's assumption of power. This he retained until the assassination of the Sirdar, when the unreasonable demands of the British Government forced him to resign. From that time on he contented himself with the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies and remained a thorn in the side of the British and an arbiter of the fate of Egyptian Ministries that resisted his wishes.

There have been two Nationalist movements in Egypt within the last twenty-five years. The first, commonly known as the Mustafa Kamel Watanist Movement, was brought about by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904. To counterbalance the preponderating influence it gave to Great Britain, the Sublime Porte and other European Powers labored untiringly to render the position of Great Britain as untenable as possible. To that effect they made use of certain intellectuals of mediocre type whose motives were not wholly of the pure and disinterested kind, men who had acquired a culture of sorts in Europe, more often than not in Paris, where they generally spent more time on the boulevards and cafés than in universities and returned home with notions little suited to the needs of the country and with customs little calculated to win the sympathy of their compatriots.

Mustafa Kamel received his education in France and came in contact with a number of political leaders in Paris. He drew the Egyptian intelligentsia to his side and from their thin ranks formed the Watanist Party which clamored for two things: Constitutional government and the evacuation of the British. The first aim failed because it clashed with the autocratic ideas of the Khedive Abbas, who, anxious as he might have been to rid the country of the odious Occupation, still did not relish any curtailment of his powers and prerogatives, and felt that the masses were not ready for the responsibilities of representative government. The second objective failed for various reasons, among which mention may be made of the following:

1. The advanced and impracticable doctrines of its apostles.

2. The lack of capable and disinterested leaders.

3. The close alliance of the Watanists with the Pan-Islamic Movement, which looked to the Sultan-Caliph at the Sublime Porte for inspiration and guidance. Pan-Islamism was at the time the nightmare of European Chancelleries.

4. The failure of the Watanists to reach the *fellah* masses, comprising over two-thirds of the entire population. Under the British control the *fellaheen* prospered. To them the "Ingleezi" Inspector was the fountain of justice, the loving and powerful protector, who guaranteed them due process of law, an abundant supply of water, freedom from the vexatious exactions of provincial overlords and continued prosperity.

5. Its exclusiveness. The Mustafa Kamel Party was exclusively composed of Mohammedans and the Copts (Christian natives) were looked upon with distrust and suspicion. A National Movement which keeps out an important element of the population, especially in a country like Egypt, where the European Powers make so much capital out of such discrimination as to justify their intervention and continued presence on the pretext of protecting the Christian minorities, has no chance of success.

The Zaghlulist Movement wisely avoided these pitfalls. In the first place it was in every sense a national uprising against the British. It weaned itself from all connection with Turkey and Pan-Islamism. It embraced both Moslem and Copt, the intellectual and the illiterate, the urban and rural population, the government official and the street urchin, men and women.

What occurred to swing the Christian

minorities in line with the Moslem majority? This is one of the mysteries that is hard for an outsider to understand. It was not due to any fair promises that Zaghlul might have made to them. There are many wise men among the Copts who would not succumb to national hysteria and cast away the substantial blessings of British support for any illusory promises of Saad and his friends. It was due more to a general awakening of the East to a consciousness of its potential strength. The Copts awoke to the fact that it was better for them to cast their lot in with their Moslem brethren, settle their internal disputes *en famille*, and not let an outsider impose his will upon them. Zaghlul surrounded himself with Coptic advisers and saw to it that in the elections for Parliament no distinction was made between Copt and Moslem, thus nullifying one of the reasons insisted on most by Great Britain—the protection of the Christian minorities.

What brought about the radical change in the attitude of the *fellaheen*? In 1919 they were just as good Moslems as they were in 1904. The change was not due to any large extent to religious motives. The *Manchester Guardian* gave the proper diagnosis of the change when it said: The war brought with it for the great Egyptian masses a patent disproof of the hitherto established belief that the Englishman's word was as good as his bond.

THE FAR EAST

The Passing of Chiang Kai-shek

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

TRUE to Chinese custom was the resignation of Chiang Kai-shek, the confidant of Sun Yat-sen while he lived and the generalissimo of the Kuomintang (Nationalist) armies until he surrendered that post on Aug. 8. With opposition strong and obstacles to further success temporarily insurmountable the proprieties called for resignation and were heeded. Chiang did not resign membership in the party. His valedictory was lengthy and closed with three requests: (1) that the Hankow and Nanking factions clear up misunderstandings and act together; (2) that the northern campaign be continued;

(3) that the party continue to expel Communists.

Chiang's eclipse was the final episode in the struggle between him and the radicals of his party, other episodes easily recalled being the Nanking incident, now regarded as motivated by the desire of the Communist wing to discredit Chiang, the subsequent split in the party and the creation of a separate government at Nanking, the hunting down of Communists and the recent forced retirement of Michael Borodin. Added to these weakening controversies was the jealousy of other military commanders, notably Feng Yu-hsiang and Tang Seng-chi.

A third significant influence toward Chiang's retirement was the Japanese occupation of the Shantung railway and its terminals, which contributed to his defeat and loss of prestige. Need of funds and unfamiliarity with political arts figured largely in his downfall.

The prime cause of his resignation was his disagreement with Borodin, his Russian adviser, whose propagandist activities and organizing skill were largely accountable for Chiang's success. Borodin believed—as did the radicals of the Kuomintang—that the complete success of the Nationalists hinged upon a program of “no compromise” with the privileged foreign States. Chiang held the view that compromise was necessary as to method, though he was equally firm in his determination to bring about his country's equality among the nations. With both men out of power the question became, would their elimination make for harmony and added strength, or would it be followed by such a scattering of the Kuomintang patrimony as succeeded Sun Yat-sen's resignation in 1912?

Apparently both tendencies were operative. The latter was evidenced in the increased influence of the military elements in both the Nanking and Hankow groups and the migration of the “bitter enders,” called the “Borodinists,” to Kiukiang. Borodin himself was reported as having passed Tungkuang on the Shensi border, en route to Moscow. Eugene Chen and Mme. Sun Yat-sen were reported as in Vladivostok, with the same destination. Evidence was lacking of working arrangements between Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, in Honan, and any of the Yangtze groups. With Chiang Kai-shek resigned several of the ablest members of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee; their resignation meant the partial dissolution of the Nanking Government. Feng was thought to have set up his own Ministry of Foreign Affairs at his centre, Loyang. He was known to be an exponent of forcible unification, a difficult rôle to play, as Yuan Shih-kai and Wu Pei-fu have witnessed. He lacked the confidence of both Chinese and foreigners, due to his betrayal of Wu Pei-fu in 1924. His position was a dangerous one, between North and South, and he was in dire financial straits.

More hopeful for the Nationalists was the report of Foreign Minister C. C. Wu, following a conference at Kiukiang between representatives from Hankow and Nanking, that terms acceptable to both factions, upon

which a single government might be set up at Nanking, had been reached. It was significant that this conference convened at Kiukiang, the new centre of the Kuomintang left wing. Another dispatch stated that T. V. Soong, whose success as Finance Minister before the Nationalist split of last April was remarkable, though his methods appear to have been as arbitrary as those of Chang Tso-lin, had expressed willingness to join a reorganized southern Government.

The repulse of General Sun Chuan-fang, after his troops had crossed the Yangtze in their rout of Chiang Kai-shek's former armies, and the consequent temporary saving of Nanking and Shanghai to the Nationalist cause, were the best evidence of the continued vitality of the Kuomintang. General Sun sought to recover a portion of the wealthy tuchunate from which he was expelled last March. Against the advice of Dictator Chang Tso-lin at Peking, who sent no troops to assist him, General Sun crossed the Yangtze at places both north and south of Nanking, aiming to capture Chiang's recent capital. Dispatches were confused and lacked detail but appeared to indicate that although defeated Sun had not given up the struggle to regain Kiangsu province, including the cities of Nanking and Shanghai. His losses were, however, reported as very large, due in part to a cholera epidemic. Division and jealousies among the Nationalist generals, as well as inadequate supplies, were in Sun's favor. Reports of a movement by Feng Yu-hsiang against Hsuehchow in northern Kiangsu were vague. With the return of actual hostilities along the Yangtze, foreign shipping again was subjected to firing from both banks. On Aug. 24 fifty shots struck the U. S. S. Isabel, which replied with rifles and machine guns. One American sailor was slightly wounded. On the following day the Noa, an American destroyer, encountered intensive firing below Nanking while convoying three British merchantmen. British marines numbering 150 were landed at Nanking to guard the premises of the International Import and Export Company.

Some improvement took place in the relations of Central China with the major treaty Powers. The seizure by Chinese soldiers of the wings of a British plane which was forced to land outside the international settlement at Shanghai caused the British commander to cut the Shanghai-Ningpo railway. Dr. Wu put on a bold front, asserting that the wings would be held in protest against violations of Chinese jurisdiction by the flight of planes over her

territory without permission. The wings were surrendered, however, without further incident.

The imposition of the new customs rates recently provided for by edict of the Nanking Government, announced for Sept. 1, was postponed indefinitely. The 2½ per cent. surtax authorized at the Washington conference and never incorporated in treaties but enforced at a number of ports was to be maintained. Enforcement of the edict for the abolition of *likin*, the internal transit duty, was also postponed. The tonnage surtax imposed July 11 was reduced by half on Aug. 8 and the surtax on coal was canceled on Sept. 1. The boycott on Japanese goods was abrogated. It was announced that the 50 per cent. increase in the excise on tobacco imposed July 1 had been repealed. The result of the increase was a slump in revenue due to the development of bootlegging, which was reported to enjoy official connivance. On July 29 the British-American Tobacco Company closed its Shanghai factories for an indefinite period. The closure threw 8,000 people out of work.

The American Department of State on Aug. 18 issued a warning against the return of missionaries, business men and others to the interior of China.

At Peking Generalissimo Chang Tso-lin issued a "bill of rights," sought in several ways to impress the people with his purposes for good government and announced, through Premier Pan Fu, that the expediency of calling upon the Powers for treaty revision was under consideration. Marshal Chang's newly organized propaganda corps eulogized the mandate—which followed lines very similar to the corresponding articles of the inanimate constitutions of China—as a *Magna Carta*, not realizing, possibly, the limited scope of its famed prototype at the date of its promulgation. Chang Tso-lin canceled various taxes, announced amnesty for all criminals save brigands, murderers and traitors, and gave \$7,000,000 from his private purse to schools and charities.

The Japanese war office on Aug. 30 ordered the withdrawal of all Japanese troops from Shantung Province, stating that the evacuation would be completed within ten days. Late in August the Japanese Government sent a protest to Chang Tso-lin against the levying of surtaxes, anti-Japanese newspaper propaganda and mob action, concluding with the demand that construction on the new Chinese railway line between Mukden and Kirin, via Hai-

lung, be stopped, on the ground that it paralleled the South Manchurian line, Japan's profitable trunk artery from Dairen to Changchun, which was contrary to treaty. Anti-Japanese sentiment was on the increase in Manchuria, where drastic action by the Tanaka Cabinet was feared. On Sept. 8 the Japanese Minister protested against anti-Japanese demonstrations which were taking place. Following the Far Eastern conference, a meeting of Japanese officials connected with Sino-Japanese relations, the Japanese Government let it be known that Japan would not tolerate disregard by any country of Japan's superior position, geographically and historically, in Manchuria and Mongolia, and that she would resist any attempts to encroach upon her superior position in those areas.

EVENTS IN JAPAN

THE Bureau of Statistics figures on population for 1926 show that births in Japan proper numbered 2,104,405, or 34.77 per thousand of population. Deaths totalled 1,160,734, being 19.18 per thousand. Thus the increase by excess of births over deaths was 943,671, the greatest yet recorded.

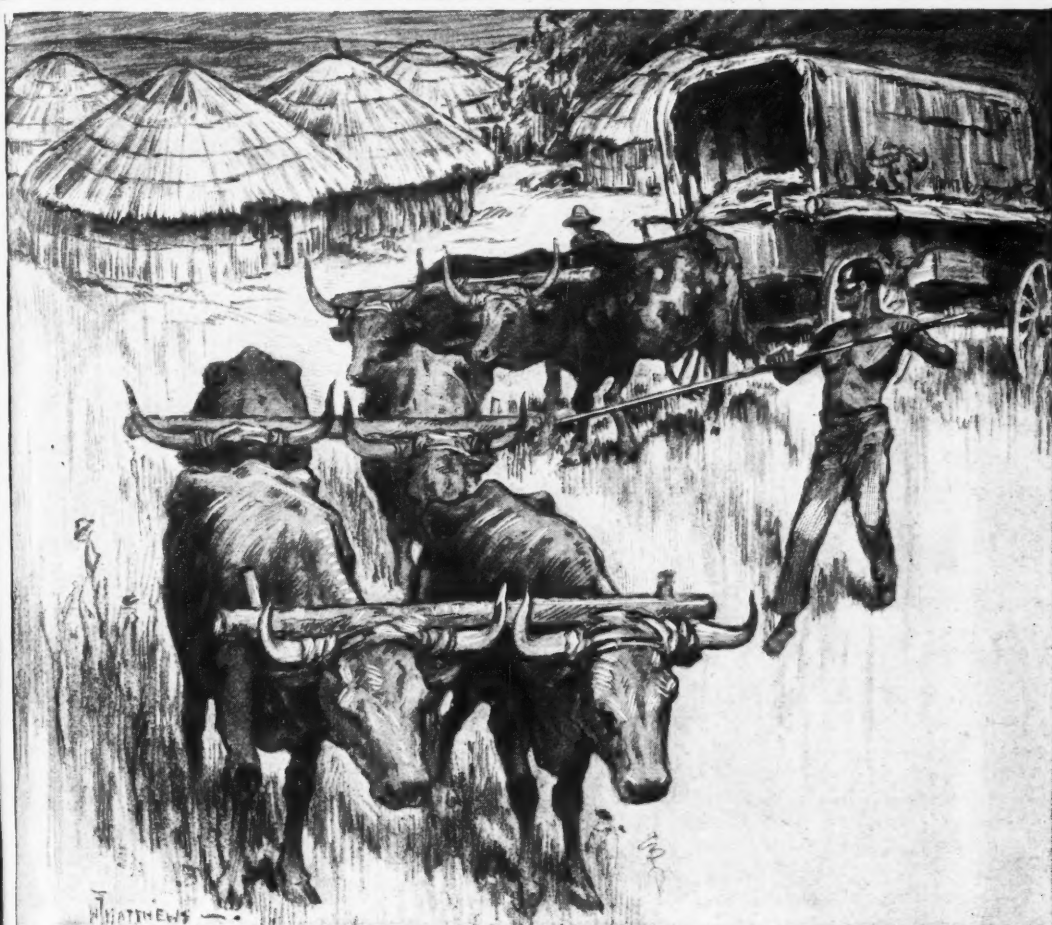
With reference to the rumors that a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance was contemplated, the Japanese Foreign Office stated on Aug. 25:

Japan's policy does not contemplate exclusive relations with Great Britain, and we have conducted no exclusive relations with that country concerning naval or any other questions.

On the same date the American Department of State published a disclaimer of knowledge concerning a secret naval pact between Great Britain and Japan. A rumor of such a pact the British and Japanese Embassies in Washington declined to discuss.

On the night of Aug. 24 in the course of battle practice in the Sea of Japan two destroyers, the *Warabi* and the *Ashi*, collided at full speed with the cruisers *Jintsu* and *Naka*. The *Warabi* sank within a few minutes, with the loss of ninety-three officers and men. None of the other three vessels foundered, but twenty-seven of the crew of the *Ashi* were drowned.

The Japanese Government decided against the proposal to advance 30,000,000 yen to the bankrupt Kawasaki Dockyard. The important Fifteenth Bank was prevented from reopening by this decision. The discussion of the problem had a divisive influence upon the Cabinet.



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TO AND FROM OUR READERS



Professor Othon Guerlac of Cornell University, who begins in this issue to contribute the monthly chronicle of events in France and Belgium, was born in this country of French Alsatian parents, but grew up in France. He served in the French Army and graduated from the University of Paris. He was assistant Professor of French at Cornell from 1904 to 1919 and Professor since 1919. During the war he served France in both military and diplomatic capacities and was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in 1919. Professor Guerlac was American correspondent of *Le Temps*, Paris, for ten years; has been a contributor to both American and French newspapers and magazines and has edited various French classics for use in schools and colleges. It will thus be seen that he is a valuable link between the two countries. Professor Carl Becker, whose place Professor Guerlac takes on the Board of Current History Associates, has been compelled, very much to the regret of the editors, to resign by reason of increased demands now being made on his time in connection with important new work he has undertaken.

* * *

WRITING HISTORY FOR CHILDREN

To the Editor of Current History:

Colonel Dickson's article "War Fables Taught in American Schools" in August CURRENT HISTORY, misses, it seems to me, the essential point entirely upon which our school history texts may be justly criticized as regards their account of the World War. Colonel Dickson cannot see the woods for the trees. He does not ask the really important question, Do these authors—admittedly laymen as regards military matters—nevertheless succeed in making clear to children the essential main military objectives of both sides, and show how far, in broad outline, these objectives were attained? The specific military events, the account of which the expert naturally tends to criticize with microscopic meticulousness, are of very minor importance indeed in their significance for the young student of the World War as a whole. In teaching this

subject to high school classes, I do not deem it necessary or advisable to devote more than one lesson to the military phases of the war as a whole, saying to the pupils when assigning the lesson: "Remember when studying the text that the author knows nothing of military matters, and that his second-hand account of them has therefore probably little value. The important thing for us is, Does he make clear the general objectives and how far they were attained by either combatant?" I hold no brief for the writers of school history texts, but I am sure that the authors of the books Colonel Dickson criticizes for inaccuracy in relatively petty detail may justly complain that he might have admitted that, after all, in any historical landscape painting for children the woods are of far more importance than the individual trees.

S. D. TOWNSEND,

History Department, Flushing High School,
New York.

* * *

Major Gen. Sir George Aston, K. C. B., of Salisbury, England, sends the following comment: "CURRENT HISTORY for August converts me to the view that there are some Americans who are really anxious to face the truth and think that patriotism can be maintained without nurturing youth on false 'history.' My hearty good wishes. *'La vérité est en marche, et rien ne l'arrêtera!'* as Zola said over the grave of Dreyfus."

* * *

CANADA'S CRIMINAL LAW

To the Editor of Current History:

In the article by Professor George M. Wrong, entitled "Canada's Sixty Years of Confederation," in the August number, there is the following statement: "Canada has, like England, one criminal law which applies to every one from Halifax to the Yukon."

There are three respects at least in which this statement is incorrect. (1) Grand Jury indictment is not in force in at least three Provinces and the Northwest Territories. (2) The size of the jury is not the same in all Provinces. (3) Jury trial can be denied to accused persons for certain crimes or alleged crimes in one Province (Alberta) and the Northwest Territories. To make clear the various points of difference referred to above. (1) There are no Grand Juries in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Northwest Territories, which, of course, includes the Yukon. (2) The size of the jury (trial) in Quebec, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and the Northwest Territories is "Six good men (women) and true." (3) Under Section 66 of the

Continued on Page xxxii.



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Continued from Page xxxi.

Northwest Territories act of 1874 jury trial is forbidden to persons accused of "assault occasioning grievous bodily harm." At the time of its passing this act applied to all those Territories not comprised in the Provinces of that day. It still applies in part to Saskatchewan (which Province in 1907 had Section 66 repealed), but Alberta, which is also governed to a large extent by this act today did not have it repealed when it, along with Saskatchewan, became a Province with its own Legislature in 1905. Thus, as a matter of fact, Halifax has one law and the Yukon another in so far as jury trials are concerned.

As for the matter of police, as far as the Provinces are concerned, the administration of "law and order" is no longer under the jurisdiction of the R. C. M. P. (Royal Canadian Mounted Police), which is the new name of the Royal Northwest Mounted of "storied" fame. The policing of the plains is done by the various provincial police forces. The R. C. M. P. today only has charge of the Border Patrol (U. S. A.-Canada), and the Northwest Territories, i. e., Canada north of the sixtieth parallel of latitude.

E. R. FAY.

Alberta, Canada.

* * *

Alfredo G. Basurto, Secretary of the Escuela Primaria "Abundio Tovar y Bueno" (affiliated with the Instituto Metodista Mexicano), Puebla, Mexico, writes the Editors as follows: "I have a very high opinion of CURRENT HISTORY, and I find every number interesting and valuable. The articles on South America are skillfully and intelligently treated and I read them with keen interest. The August issue, just received, contains articles of transcendent world significance. * * * Your magazine takes first place among all publications of its kind."

* * *

THE LATIN-AMERICAN ISSUE

To the Editor of Current History:

I have just received the September number and have not read all the articles, but I have read enough to enable me to say that I am delighted with the entire issue. It is timely above all, but it is also intensely interesting and highly instructive. Please accept my sincere appreciation. It is one of the best things that you have ever done.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN,
Professor of History, University of
Pittsburgh, Pa.

To the Editor of Current History:

This is merely to congratulate you on your September number as a whole. I have read

Continued on Page xxxiv.

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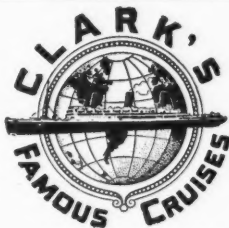
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(Standard Blend—\$2.50 for 200)

PIPE TOBACCO—\$1 for 5 oz. tins (\$3 per lb.).....☐

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Continued from Page xxxii.

practically every article appearing in *CURRENT HISTORY* for years and feel fairly well acquainted with the publication, but I regard the September number as one of the best that has come to my desk. There is entirely too little popular understanding of Latin-American problems and points of view in the United States, and you have performed a genuine public service of a high order in assembling the material and data offered in the current number.

C. W. SHUMWAY,
Editor-in-Chief of *The North American Register*
Chicago, Ill.

* * *

From Melbourne, Australia, a well-known woman politician and student of international affairs sends the following brief note of praise: "CURRENT HISTORY China number was wonderful."

* * *

REVISE THE REVISIONISTS

To the Editor of *Current History*:

To one impenitent ex-service man, Professor Barnes's laborious darkening of counsel with much knowledge but deepens the conviction that Uncle Sam and Jack Canuck, abroad in France in 1918, were the right men in the right place. It is permissible to be suspicious of a writer who embellishes his conception of pertinent evidence with over two hundred superlatives in one article; who brackets Britain, defender and savior of Belgium (no matter what the motives of her Under-Secretaries) equal with Germany, who overwhelmed that "poor little innocent" country—dare any one deny it?—with fire and sword without a scintilla of moral justification; and who is pleased to approve the ravaging of Serbia because Austria proved incapable of defending her own nationals from themselves. I conceive that the verdict of history will account the worthy professor more than adroit and less than just; and in full confidence that many will rise from the East and the West to revise the revisionists, may I as a Northerner respectfully subscribe myself?

Regina, Canada.

P. SHELTON.

* * *

A TRIBUTE

To the Editor of *Current History*:

The August issue of your magazine reached me yesterday evening, and I have read Professor Albert Bushnell Hart's article entitled "Scandinavian Sentiment on America." That alone is worth a year's subscription to your great and good magazine. I have also read Francesco Nitti's article on "Government by Dictators," and I have read the review of the two French books on America. Each of these

articles fills me with enthusiasm, and I am sure the others will equally be great and helpful. Over and over again as CURRENT HISTORY comes to me from month to month, I have felt like writing you and expressing regret that I haven't income sufficient to permit me to place every university, college and high school professor on your subscription list. It would be a godsend to American citizenship and civilization if every teacher in the public schools were furnished this magazine, and it would promote civilization if every clergyman were a habitual reader of it. I wonder if there isn't some way for you to increase immensely its circulation. Thanking you for the great and good work you are doing in publishing CURRENT HISTORY.

JOHN J. LENTZ.
Nat'l Pres. of American Insurance Union.
Columbus, Ohio.

* * *

BALBOA'S STATUE

To the Editor of Current History:

In the September issue of CURRENT HISTORY, dedicated to Latin America, I notice that the statue of Vasco Nunez de Balboa is stated to be located in the Panama Canal Zone. As a citizen of the Republic of Panama I desire to point out that the statue referred to is not situated in the Panama Canal Zone, but in a quarter of Panama City which we call Exposition. It fronts the Santo Tomas Hospital and overlooks the Pacific Ocean. It was erected by the Panama Government during the Administration of Dr. Belisario Porras, then President of the Republic.

GUSTAVO A. MENDEZ

New York City.

* * *

THE FAITH OF THE FUNDAMENTALISTS

To the Editor of Current History:

June number of CURRENT HISTORY excellent. But please do not torment peaceful-minded readers again with such argumentative, narrow spirited, sectarian contributions as that by W. B. Riley, "The Fundamental Faith."

F. A. HAWLEY

Naples, N. Y.

To the Editor of Current History:

This is the first time that any one of the important monthly magazines has opened its columns for the expression of the opinion of this class of people. I want to compliment you on the broad-mindedness evidenced by you in giving them a voice. The Fundamentalists are an element in our population and narrow as their viewpoint may appear to be they are entitled to present their side of the question at issue to the readers of your and of other magazines.

F. I. DREXLER

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CAN YOU PRONOUNCE FOREIGN WORDS LIKE—
Masseuse, 'cello, bourgeois, lingerie, décolleté, faux pas, hors d'oeuvre, maraschino, Fascisti, Bolsheviki, Reichstag, Il Trovatore, Thais, Paderewski, Ysaye, Nazimova, Galli-Curci, Les Misérables?

DO YOU SAY—

—between you and I; a raise in salary; a long ways off; a setting hen; let's you and I go somewheres; those kind of hats set good; he don't know as he can; a mutual friend; the bread raises; where will I meet you; he referred back to; a poor widow woman; we are having friends for dinner?

DO YOU KNOW WHEN TO USE—

—sits or sets, laying or lying, farther or further, drank or drunk, who or whom, I or me, lunch or luncheon, affect or effect, council or counsel or consul, practical or practicable, admittance or admission, shall or will?

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World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH

ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Analyst*

THE important developments of the month, in this country as well as abroad, have been in the realm of finance rather than in trade and industry. After the general reduction in rediscount rates at eight of the twelve Federal Reserve banks, including the New York institution, the money market turned still easier and rates on all classes of paper continued at lower levels throughout August and well into September. The seasonally corrected average of 4-6 months' commercial paper for August was 3.95 per cent., as against 4.20 per cent. for July and 4.24 per cent. for June; and the decline in time money was even more striking, the seasonally corrected August average being 3.96 per cent., as against 4.47 per cent. in July and 4.57 per cent. in June. The drop in time money was the sharpest monthly movement in either direction which has occurred since June-July, 1924.

The movement of interest rates this Summer contrasted strikingly with the tendency a year before. Comparisons of economic data which are unadjusted for seasonal influences with similar data for the corresponding period of the previous year are likely to be misleading, of course, unless the situation prevailing in the previous year is thoroughly understood. In this instance, however, the comparison is simple and valid for the reason that, although in extent interest rates fell and rose more than the usual seasonal amount, with respect to timing and direction the money market last Summer was in general allowed to follow its customary seasonal course—that is to say, rates declined late in the Spring and then rose gradually from July to September. This year, on the contrary, unexpected firmness developed late in the Spring, and then in July came an equally unexpected decline. Although figures are dry reading, the contrast which the trend of this year's rates makes with that of last year is so striking and the trend this year appears to hold so much significance for the future of business in this country as well as abroad that we give, in Table I, the weekly movement of the rates on the most important classes of paper this Summer in comparison with last Summer:

TABLE I.—MONEY RATES AT NEW YORK
A. Commercial Paper

Week Ended	1927.	1926.
July 2.....	4¼	4
July 9.....	4¼	4
July 16.....	4¼	4
July 23.....	4¼	4
July 30.....	4¼	4-4¼
Aug. 6.....	4-4¼	4-4¼
Aug. 13.....	4	4¼

TABLE I.—MONEY RATES AT NEW YORK—Continued

A. Commercial Paper		
Week Ended.	1927.	1926.
Aug. 20.....	4	4¼-4½
Aug. 27.....	4	4¼-4½
Sept. 3.....	4	4½
Sept. 10.....	4	4½

B. Time Money		
July 2.....	4.59	4.25
July 9.....	4.52	4.27
July 16.....	4.51	4.30
July 23.....	4.42	4.30
July 30.....	4.35	4.53
Aug. 6.....	4.15	4.63
Aug. 13.....	4.15	4.64
Aug. 20.....	3.97	4.83
Aug. 27.....	3.92	4.83
Sept. 3.....	3.88	4.70
Sept. 10.....	3.88	4.83

C. Call Money		
July 2.....	4.80	4.70
July 9.....	4.25	4.50
July 16.....	4.00	4.43
July 23.....	3.95	4.06
July 30.....	3.85	4.00
Aug. 6.....	3.92	4.30
Aug. 13.....	3.75	4.40
Aug. 20.....	3.62	4.50
Aug. 27.....	3.50	4.70
Sept. 3.....	3.50	4.80
Sept. 10.....	3.50	4.83

The unusual behavior of the money market is difficult to explain on strictly logical grounds. The demand for commercial credit throughout the country has continued heavy despite some slackening in the rate of industrial operations as indicated by recent more than seasonal decreases in pig iron, steel ingot and automobile production. Allowing for seasonal influences, the average amount of commercial loans by reporting member banks in August was practically the same as in July, and in addition loans and stocks and bonds by the member banks, allowing for seasonal influences, were higher than in July, reaching the highest average for any month on record.

On the side of easier credit conditions there is, of course, the continued net importation of gold. In July, according to the official figures of the Department of Commerce, there was a net balance of gold imports amounting to \$8,570,000, and in August, according to preliminary figures compiled by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, the import balance was nearly as large, amounting to \$7,599,000. The action of the Federal Reserve banks in reducing their rediscount rates, although not begun until after open market rates had already shown appreciable weakness, never-

Continued on Page xxxviii.

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theless strengthened the general belief that the Federal Reserve authorities were desirous of cheaper money, and their more recent action in "supporting" the rediscount rate reduction by their open market operations may be accepted as conclusive evidence on that point. On July 6 the amount of Government securities held by the combined Federal Reserve banks was approximately the same as it was on the corresponding date last year. Since the open market purchases have resulted in a steady increase week by week, and again the movement of this item, as reported in the weekly statements of the combined Federal Reserve banks, affords such a striking contrast to the movement a year ago that we give in Table II the detailed weekly figures:

TABLE II.—HOLDINGS OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SECURITIES OF THE COMBINED FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS
(Millions of Dollars)

	1927.	1926.
July 6.....	374	375
July 13.....	378	391
July 20.....	386	383
July 27.....	385	369
Aug. 3.....	407	370
Aug. 10.....	420	366
Aug. 17.....	442	360
Aug. 24.....	445	321
Aug. 31.....	473	319
Sept. 7.....	499	312

In this connection, also, a new and interesting phase of the problem of credit control in this country was brought to light early in September by the policy of the Federal Reserve Board in enforcing a uniform rediscount rate throughout the twelve Federal Reserve districts. The first reserve bank to announce a reduction was the Kansas City bank, on July 29. Thereafter at short intervals similar announcements were made by the reserve banks at St. Louis, New York, Boston, Cleveland, Dallas, Atlanta and Richmond. On Sept. 6 the Federal Reserve Board by a majority decision, with at least one member dissenting, established for the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago the new 3½ per cent. rediscount rate with the object of quickly fixing that rate uniformly throughout the system.

This action established a precedent in the fixing of rediscount rates, the customary procedure having previously consisted in the individual banks applying to the Federal Reserve Board for approval of changes in official rates. The question of centralized versus decentralized control of our national banking system, which has arisen frequently in the past in less definite form, is thus brought to a head, this being the first time the Federal Reserve Board has definitely forced a reserve bank to adopt a certain rate.

On Sept. 8 the board approved the application of the Philadelphia bank for a rate of 3½ per cent., thus leaving but two districts,

the San Francisco and Minneapolis, in which the former rate of 4 per cent. is now in force.

With such conditions prevailing in the money market it was apparent that the drastic decline in the stock market which occurred in August was only a temporary affair, and prices subsequently resumed their advance under the leadership of the best grade of investment stocks, such as United States Steel and General Motors. By the end of the month the market had regained all its decline, and in the first week of September prices soared to new high levels, with the volume of trading so heavy that a leading authority characterized the week ended Sept. 8 as "one of the wildest on record."

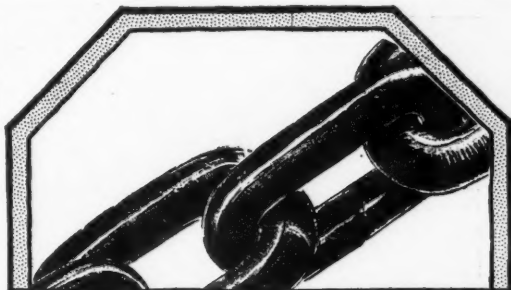
Another outstanding feature of the month was the continued advance in commodity prices, which, although the connection cannot be traced by any means as directly as the advance in security prices, was attributed in some quarters to the ease in the money market.

The strength in foreign exchange rates which was expected to follow the reduction in rediscount rates became pronounced in August. From a July low of \$4.8506, sterling advanced above \$4.8581, the highest quotation in twelve months. The German mark reached parity for the first time in the current year; the Swiss franc, just under parity, was at its highest since January, and the Swedish crown, at 26.83 cents, was at a level not reached since July, 1926. The belga, at 13.92 cents, was within a point of the highest figure since stabilization, and the Danish crown in the early part of the month reached parity for the first time since 1919. Spanish pesetas, however, were weak.

The Argentine peso rose to 42.70 cents, the highest since May, 1920, and on Aug. 27 the opening of the Caja de Conversion announced the return of Argentina to the gold standard.

Notwithstanding the strength of the exchanges, European money rates showed little change in August. The London bill rate remained at about 4% per cent., and rates in both Amsterdam and Zurich were firm just under 3½ per cent., the official rate. In Berlin the early part of August brought some evidence of an easier tendency; the bill rate was an eighth lower, at 5% per cent., and day-to-day funds and monthly money were more plentiful. Toward the end of the month the bill rate advanced to 6 per cent. and monthly money became scarce, but day-to-day funds continued comparatively low. The rate in Paris remained in the vicinity of 2 per cent., but it was reported that the market was somewhat firmer.

The Paris money market continues to be by far the cheapest money centre of Europe, with Berlin the highest and London between the two. New York rates are lower than London's but considerably higher than those of Paris.



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